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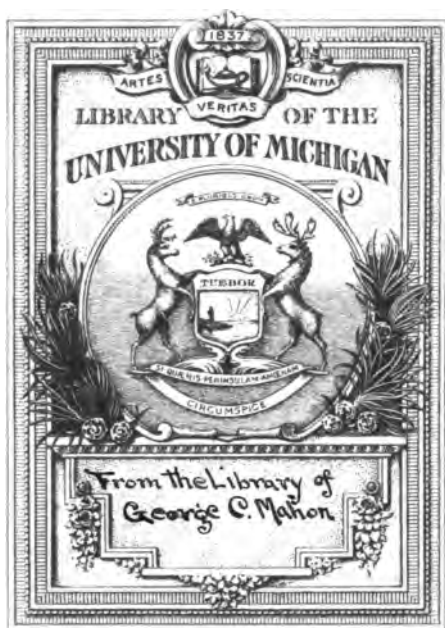
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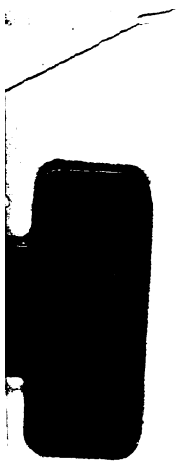
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LEABHAR NA Ğ-CEART.

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THE BOOK OF RIGHTS.



Leabhar na h-Éireann,

OR

THE BOOK OF RIGHTS,

*the ancient constitution of Ireland  
as given by the High King  
Malcolm and the Roman  
Dr. A. Raymond's edition*

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME EDITED,

*Warner 7-26 Ltd.*

WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES, *11-197*



BY

JOHN O'DONOVAN, ESQ., M. R. I. A.,

BARRISTER AT LAW.

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*The Council of the Celtic Society having intrusted me with the superintendence of this volume in its progress through the Press, I hereby certify that it is, in all respects, conformable to the rules of the Society. I also take this opportunity of expressing, upon the part of the Council, their thanks to the Royal Irish Academy, for the permission to print this work from their most valuable MSS. ; to the Provost and Board of Trinity College, for access to their Manuscript Library ; and to the Rev. Doctor Todd, for facilities in the consultation of it which he was kind enough to afford. To John O'Donovan, Esq., our thanks are pre-eminently due, for the learning and zeal which he has exhibited in the editing and general arrangement of the work. In it will be recognized a further proof of the critical and profound knowledge which he possesses of the language of our country, as well as of its topography and history. The services of Mr. Eugene Curry have been invaluable, and I am happy to record that his intimate knowledge of our ancient literature has throughout the work been made available.*

*I cannot close these observations without tendering our warm gratitude to the distinguished artist, Frederick W. Burton, Esq., R. H. A., whose pencil has graced our title-page with a group as classic as it is Irish, and which cannot fail to excite, in every Irish mind, true feelings of pride and satisfaction. It is to George Du Noyer, Esq., that we owe the drawings of the ancient chess-king from the cabinet of Dr. Petrie, which will be found in our Introduction ; and to Mr. Hanlon we are indebted for the woodcuts used there as well as in our illustrated title-page.*

WILLIAM ELLIOT HUDSON,  
*Member of the Council.*

27th July,—21st December, 1847

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## ERRATA.

- PAGE 6, notes, col. 1, line 7, *for in the first century, read A. D. 130.*  
 " 9, ——— col. 1, line 15, *after sub fine, add and Trias Thaum, p. 133.*  
 " 29, ——— col. 2, line 4, *for 1585 read 1595.*  
 " 30, ——— col. 1, line 3, *add Halliday's Ed., p. 136.*  
 " 31, text, line 19, and in note <sup>b</sup>, *for Alpláin, read Alplann.*  
 " 32, notes, col. 1, line 9, *for all that part read all that part of Leinster.*  
 " 40, ——— col. 2, line 9, *for Shabh Buidhma read Shabh Bladhma.*  
 " 46, ——— col. 2, lines 19 and 21, *for O'Eldirseeoil and Darfhine, read O h-Eldirseeoil and Dairfhine.*  
 " 50, ——— col. 1, line 1, *for Flacha Luighdhe, read Flacha Suighdhe.*  
 " 53 and 59, text and note, *for Raithleann, read Raithlinn.*  
 " 58, notes, col. 2, at the end, *for Mac Culléannain, read Mac Culléannain.*  
 " 59, ——— col. 2, line 14, *for Kilerobane, read Kilerobane.*  
 " 71, text, lines 16, 17, *for Ye and If ye are read Oh and If thou art.*  
 " 72, notes, col. 2, line 21, *for the son of, &c., read second son of Daire Cearba, and add See Ogygia, Part iii. c. 81.*  
 " 74 and 75, text and notes on Dairbhre, *for Dairfhine, read Duibhne. i.e. Gorca Duibhna.*  
 " 79, notes, col. 2, line 10, *for Eile Fhogartaigh read Eile Uí Fhogartaigh.*  
 " 81, text, line 4, *for Ye learned read Oh learned man.*  
 " 83, notes, col. 1, line 7, *delete which was called Leighin Deas-ghabhait by the ancient Irish.*  
 " 85, ——— col. 2, line 5, *for A. M. 305, read A. M. 3501.*  
 " 108, ——— col. 1, line 7, *for Mac Diarmuid read Mac Diarmada.*  
 " 143, notes, col. 2, line 7, *for pp. 301, 302, read 301, 302.*  
 " 165, ——— col. 1, line 9, *for Maigh Iria, read Maigh Iria.*  
 " 174, ——— col. 1, lines 7 and 10, *for Tuath, read Tuatha.*  
 " 193, ——— col. 2, line 5, *for Glauu Maellaghra read Glauu Maellaghra.*  
 " 237, line 25, *for Let him not be an old rusty vessel read That he be not a vessel of old words.*  
 " 256, notes, line 1, *for 184; note <sup>b</sup> read 48; note <sup>a</sup>.*

## INTRODUCTION.

---

### *Of Leabhar na g-Ceart.*

Two ancient vellum copies of this work are in existence, one in the *Leabhar Leacain* (Book of "Lecan") which was compiled from various other MSS., by Giolla Iosa Mor Mac Fírbisigh of Leacan, in the county of Sligo, chief historian to O'Dubhda (O'Dowda) in the year 1418. This copy begins at folio 184, and ends at folio 193, comprising thirty-eight closely written columns of the book. The other copy is preserved in *Leabhar Bhaile an Mhuta* (Book of "Ballymote") which was compiled by various persons, but chiefly by Solamh O'Droma, from older MSS., about the year 1390, for Tomaltach Mac Donnchadha (Mac Donough), then chief of the territories of Tir Oiliolla, Corann, Airteach, Tir Thuathail, and Clann Fearn-mhaighe, extending into the counties of Sligo, Roscommon, and Leitrim. This copy begins at folio 147 and ends at folio 154 a, col. 2, comprising thirty columns of that book.

Various modern paper copies are extant and accessible, but they have been found, on comparison with the two vellum ones just referred to, to be of no authority, as they were evidently made primarily or secondarily from either of them, with several corruptions of the respective scribes, none of whom thoroughly understood the language, as is quite evident from the nature of the corruptions (or, as they fancied, corrections) of the text made by them.

An abstract of this work was published by Hugh Mac Curtin in his *Brief Discourse in Vindication of the Antiquity of Ireland*, pp. 173-175, and pp. 221-240. An abstract of it is also given by Dr. John O'Brien, R. C. Bishop of Cloyne, in his *Dissertations on the Laws of the ancient Irish*, a work which was published by Vallancey, in 1774, in the third number of the *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, where this abstract occupies from p. 374 to p. 389. The suppression of O'Brien's name in the publication of this has caused confusion. Thus, when the author says, "in my copy of the *Annales Innisfallenses*, I find," &c., all subsequent writers took for granted that this referred to Vallancey's copy of these Annals, whereas the fact turns out to be that the "my copy of the *Annales Innisfallenses*," throughout this work, refers to a compilation of Annals made for Dr. John O'Brien, by John Conry, in 1760, at Paris, from all accessible Irish, Anglo-Irish, and English sources, of which the autograph is now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, with various marginal condemnatory notes in the hand-writing of Charles O'Connor of Belanagare. In consequence of the suppression of O'Brien's name in connexion with that work, it has been quoted as Vallancey's own by all those who have since treated of the subject, but more particularly by Mr. Moore, who frequently quotes Vallancey's Dissertation on the Laws of Tanistry, in his *History of Ireland*, as a work of authority.

The original Irish of the present work, however, never saw the light before the present edition, and writers have been quoting from it as the genuine work of Benean or St. Benignus, who was the disciple of St. Patrick, and his comharba or successor at Ard Macha (Armagh), but without letting the public know where the best copies of it are preserved, or what real claims it has to be considered the genuine work of St. Benean.

Benean was of a Munster family, being descended from Tadhg mac

Cein<sup>a</sup> (the grandson of Oilíoll Olum, king of Munster), to whom king Cormac mac Airt, about the year 254, had granted the territory of Cianachta Breagh, which comprised the district around Daimhliag (Duleek), and all the plain from thence to the hills of Maeldoid at the River Life (Liffey). The occasion of his conversion to Christianity is described in all the old Lives of St. Patrick, and in Benean's own Life<sup>b</sup>. St. Patrick being at Leath Chathail (Lecale in Ulster), and having determined on celebrating the Easter of the year 433 near Teamhair or Tara, where, he knew, the Feis Teamhrach was then to be celebrated by the king and all his toparchs, took leave of his northern friend and convert Dichó, and, sailing southwards, put into the harbour of Inbhear Colpa (Colp), the mouth of the Boinn or Boyne. There he left his boat in care of one of his disciples, and set out on foot through the great plain of Breagh (Bregia), in which the palace (of Tara) was situated. On their way, and not long after landing, they went to the house of a respectable man (*viri nobilis*) named Sescnean, where they were entertained and passed the night. St. Patrick is said on this occasion to have converted and baptized this Sescnean and all his family, among whom was Benean, then seven years old, to whom, at the baptism, Patrick gave the name of Benignus, from his benign disposition. This boy became so attached to St. Patrick, that he insisted on going along with him. St. Patrick received him with pleasure into his so-

<sup>a</sup> According to the genealogies of the saints collected by the O'Clerighs, Benean, bishop and primate, was the son of Sescnean, son of Laci, son of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilíoll Olum. See *Leabhar na g-Ceart*, post, p. 50, where he is said to be of the Cianachta of Gleann Geimhin, of the race of Tadhg, son of Cian.

<sup>b</sup> Considerable extracts from the Life of Benignus have been printed by Colgan, in

his Supplement to the Lives of St. Patrick, *Trias Thaum*, p. 208. From these it would appear that the Life was in Irish, and translated into Latin by Colgan, who intended publishing it at the 9th of November. There is an Irish Life of this saint in the Burgundian Library at Brussels, according to Mr. Bindon's Catalogue of the Irish MSS. in that Library, printed in the Proceedings of the R. I. A., vol. iii. p. 465.

ciety, and Benignus thenceforth] became one of his most favorite disciples. According to the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, however, the apostle met Sescnean when he first landed at Inis Phadruig, near Dublin (lib. i. c. 45); but Doctor Lanigan thinks that this date is contradicted by the whole tenor of St. Patrick's proceedings. Be this as it may, we are informed in one of the chapters of the Life of St. Benignus, which Colgan has published in his *Trias Thaum.*, p. 205, that when he became qualified to preach the Gospel, he was employed in various parts of Ireland, and particularly in those regions which St. Patrick had not visited in person. Among these is particularly mentioned "Iar Momonia", or West Munster, and "Corcomrogia" Corcumruadh (Corcomroe, in the county of Clare). But he became in a special manner the patron of Connacht, where he erected his principal church, called in the time of the writer Cill Benein, at Dun Lughaidh, in the territory of Conmaicne Chineil Dubhain ("Kilbanan" in the barony of Dunmore) and county of Galway, where the remains of a round tower still indicate the ancient importance of the place; and it is added that he blessed the province of Connacht "from the River Drobhacis to Muireasc Eoghain near Luimneach, and from Leim Lara to Druim Snamha in the district of Gabhal Liuin" (Galloon, at Lough Erne), in which region the inhabitants paid him and his successors, yearly, "lacticiniorum, vitulorum, agnorum, idque generis animantium primitias."—*Trias Thaum.*, c. 32, p. 205.

But the relatives of St. Benignus, to wit, the race of Eoghan of Caiseal, the descendants of Oilíoll Olum, and other Munster tribes, hearing that he had blessed the province of Connacht in preference to Munster, of the royal stock of which he was himself descended, though St. Patrick wished him to bless the south, were in no small degree offended; but St. Benignus, to make some amends for this obvious dereliction of provincial duty, commenced and composed that famous

*Chronicon*, called the Psalter of Caiseal<sup>c</sup>, in which are described the acts, laws, prerogatives, and succession, not only of the monarchs of all Ireland, but also those of the kings of Munster.

The passage runs as follows in the Latin of Colgan:—

“Cognati Sancti Benigni, vt populus Eoganix Casselensis, Olildiana progenies, et alij Momonienses, audito prædicto eius facto, non parum offensi et contra virum Dei indignati dicuntur. S. autem Benignus, vt istam offensam aliquo grato dilueret obsequio, famosum illud Chronicon, quod *Psalterium Casselense* nuncupatur, inchoauit et composuit: in quo non solùm totius Hibernix Monarcharum, sed specialiter regum Mumoniæ acta, jura, prærogativæ, et successio conscribantur.”—*Trias Thaum.*, c. 33, p. 205.

Benignus afterwards, in 455, upon St. Patrick's retirement, succeeded him, and, having himself resigned his bishopric in 465, died on the 9th of November, 468, and was buried at Ard Macha (Armagh)<sup>d</sup>.

The passage, which we have just cited out of Colgan's extracts from the Life of St. Benignus, has been overlooked by our writers. It es-

<sup>c</sup> It is usually supposed that this work was called *Psalter* because it was principally written in verse. Doctor Lanigan, however, informs us (Eccl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 356, note 58), that “his deceased worthy friend, General Vallancey,” informed him that this was a mistake, as the original title of the work was *Saltair*, “which, he said, signifies *chronicle*; and that he states the same in his *Prospectus* of a Dictionary of the ancient Irish, at *Taireac*.” Dr. Lanigan, however, though he would wish to agree with Vallancey in everything, was too profound a scholar to be led astray by his veneration for the memory of his departed friend, and, too honest to pass any opinion without some authority, he had the courage to add:

“Yet *Saltair* signifies also *Psalter*, and the *Psaltair*, or *Saltair-na-rann*, was not a chronicle.”

<sup>d</sup> Dr. Lanigan remarks (vol. i. p. 377): “How a story about Benignus having died at Rome, got into the Annals of Innisfallen, I cannot discover.” The Doctor was not aware that what he quotes throughout his Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, as the Annals of Innisfallen, is only a compilation made at Paris, A. D. 1760, from old Irish stories, the *Caithreim Thoirdhealbhaigh*, Giraldus Cambrensis, Pembridge's Annals, and Ware's Annals, by John Conry and Dr. O'Brien, author of the Irish Dictionary. We are indebted to the Irish Archæological Society for this discovery.

tablishes the important fact that Benean commenced (*inchoavit*) the celebrated *Psalterium Casselense*; and as it is a matter of extreme interest to examine the existing evidence as to that record, of which only a small fragment is known to exist, we shall collect what can be stated respecting it in a subsequent part of this Introduction.

That passage further proves that Benean put together and entered in the Psalter an account of the rights (*jura*) of the monarchs of all Ireland, and especially of the kings of Munster. Now, one of the poems in our book, in treating of those rights says (p. 52), that Benean put in the Psalter of Caiseal the history of each Munster king, and his income; and the conclusion reasonably follows that Benean commenced and composed some such Book of Rights as this, and placed it in the *Saltair Chaisil*.

Edward O'Reilly (in his *Irish Writers*, p. 28), saw the fallacy of attributing the authorship of the Book of Rights, in its present form, to St. Benean, and expressed his doubts as to the fact, as the "language, and some internal evidences in the composition, show it to be at least enlarged and altered in a period nearer to our own times." In fact, though it cannot be denied that there was a *Leabhar na g-Ceart* drawn up after the establishment of Christianity, which received the sanction of St. Benignus, it cannot be pronounced that any part of the work, in its present form, was written by that bishop.

It gives an account of the rights of the monarchs of all Ireland, and the revenues payable to them by the principal kings of the several provinces, and of the stipends paid by the monarchs to the inferior kings for their services. It also treats of the rights of each of the provincial kings, and the revenues payable to them from the inferior kings of the districts or tribes subsidiary to them, and of the stipends paid by the superior to the inferior provincial kings for their services.

These accounts are authoritatively delivered in verse, each poem being introduced by a prose statement; and of those joint pieces,



twenty-one in number, seven are devoted to Munster, and the rights of the *ápo níg*, or monarch of all Ireland, are treated of under this head; for it first supposes the king of Munster to be the monarch, and then subjoins an account of his rights, when he is not king over all Ireland. Two pieces are then devoted to the province of Connacht, two to each of the three divisions of Ulster, two to Midhe or Meath, and two to Leinster, with an additional poem on the Galls or foreigners of Dublin, and a concluding piece on the rights of the kings at Teamhair or Tara.

The prose usually purports to be a short statement or summary of the poem which follows, and which it treats as a pre-existing document. These prose introductions almost uniformly conclude with an allegation that Benean said or sang as follows, *de quibus-Benean dixit*, . . . *amail ab fear Bénéan . . . ab beapt . . . po cheat . . . po cácaim . . . poí fíó . . . fo gní . . . po cáim Bénéan*; see pp. 32, 42, 52, 62, 70, 80, 88, 98, 112, 118, 128, 136, 144, 156, 168, 176, 184, 204, 218, 224, 238. Some of them go farther, and call him in *é-úgoar*, the author, p. 32, and in *píli*, the poet, p. 70. Nor is this direct allegation of Benean's authorship confined to the concluding prose lines; it occurs in an opening at p. 97, and it is put almost as strongly at p. 50, *ipíao fo beop tecurca Bénéan*, "these are, further, the inculcations, or instructions of Benean;" and the introduction to the whole work in the Book of Baile an Mhuta, p. 30 (which has not a corresponding passage in the Book of Leacan), uses an expression but slightly different . . . *amail po ópcaig Bénéan*, i. e. "the tribute and stipends of Ireland as Benean ordained," . . . and it refers to the Book of Gleann da Loch as the authority.

Now, it is curious that the poems themselves, in general, do not profess to be the productions of Benean; and the additional *raun* or stanza at p. 68, *infra* (which is only found in the Book of Leacan), can scarcely be viewed as an exception to this. On the internal evidence

of the poems, as to the authorship of them, it will become very clear that he was not the author; and those who have "fathered" the Book on St. Benean, to use O'Reilly's expression (Ir. Writ. p. 109), must have confined their reading to the prose.

It will appear upon careful consideration that most of the stipends and tributes mentioned in *Leahhar na g-Coart* were traditional, and many of them of great antiquity. The tributes of Midhe (Meath) are said (p. 184), to be related as they were rendered from the time of Conn of the Hundred Battles. It is probable, indeed, that the accounts were originally digested, and perhaps put into metre, by St. Benean; but that the work was afterwards, towards the beginning of the tenth century, altered and enlarged by Cormac Mac Cuileannain, bishop-king of Caiseal or Munster, assisted by Sealbhach the sage, and Aenghus, so as to agree with the tribes and subdivisions of Ireland at that period. This appears quite plain from the notices of Sealbhach and Aenghus, at p. 60, and of Mac Cuileannain, at p. 86.

The poet Sealbhach was secretary to Cormac, "*Seluacius S. Cormaco a secretis vir eximie pietatis et doctrinae.*"—*Acta SS.* p. 5; and in the same place Colgan says that he survived Cormac for some years, and that he wrote concerning his virtues and death: "*Vixit autem Seluacius aliquot annis post S. Cormacum, de cuius morte et virtutibus inter alia multa, pulchre scripsit.*"—*Ibid.* As Cormac, according to the Annals of Ulster, and to Ware, vol. i. p. 465, began his reign A. D. 901, and was killed at the battle of Bealach Mughna, A. D. 908, we can very nearly fix the date of the composition.

We shall presently find further evidence to show that the poems, in their present form, cannot be ascribed to so early a period as the time of St. Benean; but there is every reason to believe that the older Book of Rights, which was said to have been written by St. Benean, was in existence in the time of Cormac.

Now, let us look closely through these several pieces.

We have seen that the writer of the prose attributes the first piece to the gifted author Benean, the son of Sescnean; but the commencement of the poem immediately following leads to the inference that it was the composition of one who had arrived at the station of chief poet of Ireland; for he claims for the men who held that office, and wore the *Taeidhean*, or ornamented mantle, made of the skins and feathers of various coloured birds (Cormac's Glossary), the true knowledge of the rights of Caiseal, which, to bards<sup>e</sup>, should be a question for ever.

In the second poem there is a similar allusion, p. 42, for the poet sings that it is his *duty* to record the right of Caiseal, and that it is pleasing to the king of Gabhran to find it acknowledged by his poet.

In the third piece the writer of the poem actually addresses Benean as a third person, and implores a blessing on him; asserting that it was he who put in the *Saltair Chaisil* the tradition or history of the king of Caiseal and of his income. That was evidently an antecedent *Saltair*, which the writer afterwards refers to (p. 60), as the *Psalter of the God of Purity*, in which he had found it recorded that Benean had remained at Caiseal from Shrovetide to Easter.

The writer of the prose, as usual, ascribes this poem to St. Benean, the son of Sescnean the Psalmist, but the poem itself furnishes internal evidence that it was not composed by him, or for centuries after, his time. It refers to the cursing of Teamhair (Tara) by Saint Ruadhan, A. D. 563; see p. 53, n. <sup>u</sup>, *infra*; it mentions the Galls or foreigners of Dublin, and the duty of driving them out from Leinster and Munster (p. 54); and if those foreigners were the Northmen, such an allusion could not have been made before the eighth or ninth century. It states the great dignity and prerogatives of Caiseal, and complains that the

<sup>e</sup> See page 183, and note <sup>1</sup> there.

people of Leinster and race of Conn did not subscribe to those prerogatives; and in the concluding stanza the poem requests Sealbhach the Saei, or learned Doctor, to maintain those privileges.

We have already, p. vii., mentioned the fourth piece, and its concluding verse, p. 68, wherein Benean is made to speak in the first person.

The fifth poem refers to Benean as the one who had *shaped* the stipends of Caiscal, and it does not say that he wrote the piece.

Again, in the sixth poem, which begins at p. 80, and ends at p. 87, distinct mention is made of Mac Cuileannain himself, from which we must conclude that these poems were written during his time, and indeed possibly this particular poem was written by himself, for the writer pledges the support of Mac Cuileannain to the sage or ollamh who maintains the system he is expounding, as it is.

Again, the poem which begins on p. 98, and ends on p. 111, plainly betrays a later age by mentioning (see p. 107, *infra*) the free tribe of "Siol Muireadhaigh," for the progenitor of this tribe, Muireadhach Muilleathan, king of Connacht, died, according to the Four Masters, in the year 700; *rectè* 701 (see Tribes and Customs of Ui Maine, p. 73, note f), and of course was unknown to Benean, though the prose, as usual, attributes the composition to him. He died in the year 468, i. e. 233 years before the ancestor whose race is mentioned in the poem. The language of the poem is, however, very different from the prose, and in its concluding rann the writer plainly distinguishes himself as the follower of Benean, not Benean himself, as follows:

"Well has *Benean* exactly found  
This knowledge—it is no injustice,  
I shall state it as it is,  
Ye noble people, hear it!"

The mention of Leath Chathail in the poems on Uladh, pp. 164 and 172, is decisive to show that they could not have been written by

Benعان in the fifth century. We have shown (p. 165, n. <sup>f</sup>) that an ancestor of Cathal, from whom the territory took its name, was slain in the year 627. In the splendid volume on the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore, by the Rev. Mr. Reeves, pp. 201, 257, n. <sup>u</sup>, and 365, n. <sup>x</sup>, now published, the reader will find the materials for fixing the era of this Cathal to the middle of the eighth century, and of the adoption of the territorial name to the middle of the ninth, A. D. 850.

So, the frequent references to the Galls, and to Tomar, as prince of Dublin, pp. 41, 206, demonstrate that the poems in which they occur could not have been written before the end of the ninth century, as will appear from a subsequent part of this Introduction.

The writer of the poem, at p. 134, says that he had found the history of the race of Niall in books where Benعان's faithful hand had traced it, making it as plain as language can, that the writer composed his poem founded upon *previous* books of which Benعان was author.

The allusions to Benعان at pp. 155, 168, 178, all are to the like effect; that at p. 168 speaks of Benعان as having inculcated the matter in his day, i. e., as if he were then dead; and that at p. 178, when it alleges that a Latin scholar had fully observed the right, must mean, either that Benعان had composed his book in Latin, or that some other Latin scholar had intervened, and written on the subject in Latin.

The language of the poem which commences at p. 204, is remarkable; viz., that "Benعان related the right of the king of Laighin; in the decision of an author he found it;" intimating the writer's testimony that Benعان had recorded this right in conformity with the judgment of a previous author.

Even the poem on the Galls of Ath Cliath does not purport to be written by Benعان; for the writer says:

"The profits of Ath Cliath I will not conceal,  
As Benعان has fixed them."

This poem on the Galls or foreigners of Dublin, pp. 224, &c., and their conversion to Christianity by St. Patrick, may possibly have been produced about the same period of Cormac Mac Cuileannain, though it is difficult to believe that it was allowed to be transcribed into the *Sal-tair Chaisil* by Cormac and his secretary, who, living so near the period of the first Northman or Danish settlement in Dublin, could not be supposed to lend their authority to such a story.

It is much more likely that this poem was written and circulated at a much later period, when the Christian Danes refused to submit to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction or authority of Armagh; and when it was found useful by the Danish party to have it believed that their ancestors had been settled in Dublin as early as the fifth century, and converted to Christianity by St. Patrick, immediately after his having cursed Teamhair or Tara. The Danes of Dublin, on that occasion, placed themselves under Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury; and the jealousy that existed between the two races at that period is manifest from the letter addressed to Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, by the clergy and burgesses of Dublin, published by Ussher (Syllog. No. 40), in which they tell him that the bishops of Ireland, and most of all the one who resided at Armagh, entertained a very great jealousy against them. “Sciatis vos reverâ, quod Episcopi Hiberniæ maximum zelum erga nos habent et maximè ille Episcopus qui habitat Ardimachæ; quia nos nolumus obedire ordinationi, sed semper sub vestro dominio esse volumus.”

How early this Ibero-Danish figment was copied, as an authentic document, into the historical books of the nation, it is now difficult to determine, but it is quite obvious it had found its way into *Leabhar na g-Ceart* long before the period of the compilation of the Books of Leacan and Ballymote, for it had been interpolated in the MSS. from which the copies as they now stand were made.

This fiction also attempts to pull down the veneration for the Ne-

potes Neill, by making St. Patrick curse the monarch of that race, from which it looks probable that some of the rival race of Oilioll Olum had a hand in the production of it; for it certainly was intended to raise the dignity of Caiseal above that of Teamhair, and to exalt the race of Oilioll Olum above that of Conn of the Hundred Battles. As this controversy respecting the claims of the northern and southern Irish kings to supremacy and renown gave origin to a great number of Irish poems by Tadhg Mac Daire (Teige Mac Dary) and the Munster poets, which were replied to by Lughaidh O'Clérigh (Lewy O'Clery) and the northern literati, the Editor will offer a few thoughts on the subject in this place. See O'Reilly's *Irish Writers*, p. 149, under the year 1600.

Dr. O'Brien appears, from various notices throughout his *Irish Dictionary*, to have thought that the race of Oilioll Olum never submitted to the race of Conn of the Hundred Battles; for he speaks of Conn himself, and of his grandson Cormac, and even of Flann Sionna, who defeated Cormac mac Cuileannain in 908, as kings of Meath, and of the two northern provinces. But in this and other respects Dr. O'Brien has been led to make assertions relative to the Irish monarchs which cannot stand the test of true criticism, for though it must be acknowledged that the Irish monarchs had little influence in Leath Mhogha, or the southern half of Ireland, still we must believe that since the introduction of Christianity the Irish monarchs were principally of the race of Niall of the Nine Hostages, the ancestor of the O'Neills and their correlative families. In the ancient *Lives of St. Patrick* it is stated that when the Irish apostle came to Aileach, he predicted that sixteen of the race of Eoghan, the son of Niall, would become kings of all Ireland; and though we need not believe in this as a prediction, it is reasonable to conclude that those kings were well known and acknowledged; and the fact is that they are mentioned and

called kings of all Ireland even by the Munster writers themselves, whatever authority they may have exercised over the chieftains of Munster. Connell Mageoghegan, in his translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, gives us his idea of what was understood by "King of Ireland," in the following observation under the reign of Mael na m-Bo, ancestor of the family of Mac Murchadha of Leinster :

"A. D. 1041. Dermott Mac Moylenemo was king nine years.

"The kings or chief monarches of Ireland were reputed and reckoned to be absolute monarches in this manner: If he were of Leath Con, or Con's halfe in deale, and one province of Leath Moye, or Moy's halfe in deale, at his command, he was coumpted to be of sufficient power to be king of Taragh, or Ireland; but if the party were of Leath Moye, if he could not command all Leath Moye and Taragh with the lordshipp thereunto belonging, and the province of Ulster or Connought (if not both), he would not be thought sufficient to be king of all Ireland. Dermott Mac Moylenemo could command Leath Moye, Meath, Connought, and Ulster; therefore, by the judgement of all, he was reputed sufficient monarch of the whole."

According to the old Annals of Innisfallen none of the kings of Connaught or Munster attained to the monarchy of all Ireland, since the introduction of Christianity, except the five following: "1. Oengus, son of Nadfraech; 2. Eochaidh, son of Oengus, son of Nadfraech; 3. Cathal, son of Finguine; 4. Felim, son of Crimhthann; 5. Brian, son of Cinn-eide." Of these the first was contemporary with St. Patrick, but there seems to be no authority for making him monarch of all Ireland, except this Munster chronicle, which was compiled in the monastery of Innisfallen. According to the Book of Leacan, Laeghaire, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, was monarch of Ireland for thirty years after the arrival of St. Patrick, and, according to all authorities, Laeghaire was succeeded by his relative, Oilioll Molt, son of Dathi, and Oilioll was suc-



ceeded by Laeghaire's own son, Lughaidh, who died, according to the Annals of Tighearnach, in the year 508. After the death of Lughaidh there was an interregnum of five years, and the Munster annalist seems to have taken the opportunity of this interregnum, which was acknowledged by the UiNeill annalists, of placing the monarchical crown on the head of Eochaidh, the son of Aenghus, king of Caiseal, and making him wear it for thirteen years after 513, when Muircheartach Mor Mac Earca, the great grandson of Niall of the Nine Hostages, had, according to the other annalists, mounted the throne.

The kings of Caiseal appear to have put forward no claims to the monarchy of all Ireland till the year 709, when Cathal, the son of Finguine, ancestor of the family of O'Caeimh (O'Keeffe), and king of Munster, plundered the plain of Breagh or Bregia, and compelled Fearghal, the son of Maelduin, monarch of Ireland, to give him hostages; in consequence of which he was looked upon by his own people as monarch of Ireland till his death, which occurred in the year 742. But the northern writers do not acknowledge him as monarch, for during the period which elapsed from the year 709, when he could have had some pretension to the monarchy, till 742, the other annalists set down as monarchs of all Ireland the following:

1. Fearghal, son of Maelduin, who died, according to Tighearnach, on Friday, the 16th of December, 722.
2. Fogartach, son of Niall, who was monarch of Ireland for one year and some months.
3. Cinaeth, son of Irgalach, who was monarch of Ireland three years.
4. Flaithbheartach, son of Loingseach, seven years.
5. Aedh Ollan, son of Fearghal, nine years.

From the death of Cathal, the son of Finguine, the Munster historians claim no monarch of all Ireland down to the year 840, when Feidhlimidh (Felimy), the son of Crimhthann, king of Munster, and

Niall, the son of Aedh, monarch of Ireland, had a meeting at Cluain-Fearta Brennain (Clonfert) in Connacht, where the monarch submitted to Feidhlimidh (Felimy), who was considered, at least by his own people of Munster, monarch of Ireland from that period till his death, which occurred in 847<sup>f</sup>. From this year, however, the kings of Caiseal had no pretensions to the monarchy till the year 1002, when the great Brian Borumha mounted the throne of Ireland.

Mr. Moore, however, will not allow any monarch of all Ireland to the race of Eibhear, or the people of Leath Mhogha, or Munster, from the time of St. Patrick till the accession of Brian in 1002. This

<sup>f</sup> Mac Curtin, in his *Brief Discourse in Vindication of the Antiquity of Ireland*, p. 175, asserts that this Feidhlimidh was not king of Ireland, as Cambrensis erroneously styles him, in his History of Ireland, but that he was king of Munster for twenty-seven years. But Mac Curtin should have known that this should not have been attributed as an error to Cambrensis, as the older Munster annalists mention Feidhlimidh as one of the five Munster kings who obtained the monarchy of all Ireland, subsequently to the introduction of Christianity; and it is quite evident from Mac Curtin's own account of Feidhlimidh's regal visitation of the provinces of Connacht, Ulster, Meath, and Leinster, to whose kings he made the usual monarchical presents, and from whom he received the entertainments due to the Irish monarchs, that he was considered the ἀρχὴ πρῶτῃ, or sole monarch of all Ireland. Mac Curtin's remark, that his progress through Ireland "had success upon account of the union and amity the Irish princes had among themselves at this time," is beneath criticism; for it is distinctly

stated in the old Annals of Innisfallen, that Feidhlimidh, the son of Crimthann, received homage from Niall, the son of Aedh, king of Teamhair, in the year 824 (a mistake for 840), when Feidhlimidh became full king of Ireland, and sat in the seat of the abbots of Cluain Fearta (Clonfert); and in an Irish poem purporting to give a regular account of Feidhlimidh's circuit through Ireland, it is distinctly stated that he remained half a year in the plain of the River Finn, plundering the Cineal Chonaill, and that he also plundered Dal Riada and Dal Araidhe, and that he remained a whole year at Ard Macha, during which he preached to the people every Sunday. The words of Giraldus are as follows:

"Igitur a tempore Felmidii Regis, et obitu Turgesii, vsque ad tempus Rotherici: Conactiæ regnum durauit (Qui ultimus de hac gente monarcha fuit, & vsque hodie Conactiæ præsidet: Cuius etiam tempore, et per quem Rex Lageniæ Dermotus scilicet Murchardi filius, a regno expulsus fuerat) septendecim Reges in Hiberniâ regnauerunt."—*Topographia Hiberniæ*, Dist. iii. c. 44.

is a fact on which he frequently and emphatically speaks. See especially his *History of Ireland*, vol. ii. pp. 142, 143.

It is probable that the tributes paid to the Irish monarchs and provincial kings remained nearly the same as those described in the present form of *Leabhar na g-Ceart* till the destruction of the Irish monarchy. After the English invasion, the power of the provincial kings was very much limited; the great Anglo-Norman families imposed various tributes unknown to the ancient Irish, and in course of time the Irish chieftains who retained their power began to imitate them, and the old order of the country was disturbed and broken.

Of this kind of exaction the following is quoted by Dr. O'Connor, from an Irish MS. preserved in the Library of the Duke of Buckingham at Stowe, Codex iii. fol. 28. Stowe Catalogue, p. 168. It appears to have been taken from a poem by Torna O'Maelchonaire, chief poet of Connacht, who attended at the inauguration of Feidhlimidh O'Conchoir on the hill of Cara Frasigh, A. D. 1315.

“Ar iad go imorro tuarastail na rí-éarac d' Ua Conchoir  
 .i. dá xx. déag mapte, acur dá xx. déag caora i m-Dealltuine do  
 mhaig Oipeachear; dá xx. déag mapte, acur dá xx. déag corc gach  
 a Samna dó, acur a e-tabac a h-Uball. Dá xx. déag loilgeach,  
 acur dá xx. déag caora i m-Dealltuine o' O Fionbáear; dá xx.  
 déag corc, acur dá xx. déag mapte gacha Samna dó, acur a e-tabac  
 a Luighn Connacht dó. Dá xx. déag loilgíoch, acur dá xx. déag  
 caora o' O Maolbrenuinn gacha Dealltuine; dó xx. déag mapte  
 acur dá xx. déag corc gacha Samna dó, acur a e-tabac a Tír Fiach-  
 raic acur a Cúil Cnáma acur a Chúil Chearnaíma dó. Dá xx. déag  
 loilgeach acur dá xx. déag caora dhealltuine do Ua Flannagáin,  
 acur dá xx. déag mapte acur dá xx. déag corc gacha Samna dó,  
 acur a e-tabach a Tír Amalgáin acur a h-Iorpur.

“These are the stipends of the royal chieftains of Connacht from

O'Conchobhair [O'Conor], i. e. twelve score beeves<sup>g</sup>, and twelve score sheep on May-day to Mac Oireachtaigh [Mageraghty]; twelvescore beeves and twelve score hogs to himself [O'Conor] every Allhallowtide, and these are levied from Ubhall<sup>h</sup>. Twelve score milch cows<sup>i</sup>, and twelve score sheep on May-day to O'Fionnachtaigh; twelve score hogs and twelve score beeves every Allhallowtide to himself, and these are levied for him from Luighne Chonnacht [Leyny]. Twelve score milch cows and twelve score sheep to O'Maoilbhrenninn [Mulrenin] every May-day; twelve score beeves and twelve score hogs every Allhallowtide to himself, and these are levied for him from Tir Fhiachrach [Tireragh], and from Cuil Cnamha<sup>k</sup>, and from Cuil Cearnamha. Twelve score milch cows and twelve score sheep on May-day to O'Flannagain; and twelve score beeves and twelve score hogs every Allhallowtide to himself, and these are levied in Tir-Amhalghaidh [Tirawley] and in Irrus [Erris]."

It will be seen by comparing the stipends and tributes in this extract with the two poems printed *infra*, p. 99 to 111, and from 113 to 117, that the tributes and stipends paid by these territories do not at all agree; and it is, therefore, evident that they were remodelled after the English invasion.

The subsidy mentioned in the tract on Ui Maine, preserved in the Book of Leacan, as paid by the king of Connacht to the chief of Ui Maine, will also appear to have belonged to a later period, for, according to that Tract (see Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many, p. 93), the king

<sup>g</sup> *Twelve score beeves*.—Dr O'Conor translates this "fifty cows and fifty sheep," but *dá xx. déag* is not fifty, but *dá ficit déag*, i. e. twelve score, i. e. two hundred and forty.

<sup>h</sup> *Ubhall*, rectè *Umhall*, see page 98, note <sup>c</sup>, *infra*.

<sup>i</sup> *Milch-Cows*.—Dr. O'Conor renders this sucking calves, but without any authority.

<sup>k</sup> *Cuil-Cnamha*, a district in the east of the barony of Tireragh, in the county of Sligo, comprising the parish of Dromard. See *Ui Fiachrach*, pp. 265, 424.

of Ui Maine is entitled to ten steeds, ten foreigners [slaves], ten standards, and ten mantles [matala]; whereas, according to *Leabhar na g-Ceart, ut infra*, p. 115, he was entitled only to seven cloaks, seven horses, seven hounds, and seven red tunics.

Olígió níg h-Ua Máine, an mal,  
 bech n-eic, cap raeib ppoéaib rál,  
 bech n-goile, pé gním fepgi ug fuin,  
 bech mepgi ocuf bech matail.

[*Ui Maine*, p. 92.]

Some curious specimens of these remodelled exactions are given by Mr. Hardiman in his *Irish Deeds*, published in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xv., Nos. xiv. and xv., with the *Rentals of O'Brien and Mac Namara*, in the fourteenth century, and No. xxix., detailing some exactions of Mac Carthy More. The last Earl of Desmond seems to have raised these tributes and exactions to a most exorbitant extent, as appears by a list of his "rents, victuals, and other revenues," in a MS. at Lambeth, Carew Collection, No. 617, p. 212. The same collection, No. 611, contains a list of "services and duties due to Mac Cartie More from Sir Owen O'Sullivan." More of these Irish exactions will be found detailed in the will of Domhnall O'Galchobhair, who was steward to Hugh Roe O'Donnell, who died in Spain, in the year 1602; and in a paper MS. in Marsh's Library, Class V., 3, Tab. 2. No. 20, which gives a list of the rents, services, customs, &c., due to O'Duinn (O'Doyne, now Dunne), chief of Iregan, in the Queen's County, and in various Inquisitions, amongst the most curious of which is one taken "apud the King's ould castle in the city of Cork, decimo septimo die Octobris, 1636, coram Willielmum Fenton et alijs," in which the rents and customs due to Daniel Mac Carty, of Kilbrittan, *alias* Mac Carty Reogh, then lately deceased, are minutely

detailed. The following account of the duties and customs of East Breifny, furnished to Her Majesty's Commissioners at Cavan, by Sir John O'Reilly, on the 1st of April, 1585, will afford a fair specimen of modern *Hibernia Anglicana* exactions. It is preserved in the Carew Collection at Lambeth, No. 614, p. 162.

"By Her Majesty's Commissioners at Cavan, the 1st of Apriell, 1585.

"Sir John O'Reily sett down the limites of your territories, and the baronies accordinge the new Indentures.

"Item what rents, duties, and customs you ought to have out of every pole in the five baronies," &c.

To the second of these questions he replies:

"The Dewties and Customes, &c.

"Orely by auncient custom and usadge of the country had always out of the baronies of the Cavan and Tullaghgarvy, and out of every of the other thre barronies which he hath lost by the division, yearly out of every barrony xlv. li. [i. e. £45], as often as he had any cause to cesse the said barronies, either for the Queene's rents and dewties, or for any charge towards Onele, or other matter, which sometimes was twice or thrise a yeare, and every time xlv. li. to his owne use, besides the charge of the cesse.

"Item, he had lykewise by the said custome and usadge all manner of chargis that either his son, or any other of his men or followers, weare put into by reson of their beinge in pledge or attendinge by commandment of the Lord Deputy in Dublin, or elsewhere for matter of the said Orely.

"Item, by the said custom Orely had all manner of fees and pensions, and recompenses given by the said Orely to any learned counsell or other solicitor or agent for the cause of the contry, borne and payed by the said contry.

"Item, by the said custom Orely had yearly over and beside all other dewtis and customes towards his chargis in going to Dublin out of every pole, xvi<sup>d</sup>. star.

"Item, by the said custom he had yearly out of every viii. pooles of lande through the whole fyve barronis, one fatt beef for the spendinge of his house.

"Item, by the said custom he had one horse for himselfe, one horse for his wife, and one horse for his son and heir, with one boye attendinge uppon every horse kept through the whole fyve barronis yearly.

"Item, by the said custom it was lawfull for Orely to cesse uppon the Mac Bradis, the Mac Enroes, the Gones, and the Jordans, by the space of iii. quarters of a yeare yearly, one foteman uppon every poole which the said sirnames had, to kepe his cattell, to repe and bynd his corne, to thrashe, hedge and diche, and do other husbandry and mercenary work for the said Oreley.

"Item, by the said custom the said Orely had upon the Bradis, the Gones, the Mac Enroes, and the Jordans, out of every poole of land yearly, thre quarters of a fatt beefe, and out of every two pooles one fatt porke, and also the cessinge of strangers, their men and horses, as often as any did come in frendship to the country.

"Item, by the said custom the said Orely had by dewty all manner of chardgis both for workmen rose and laborers and victualls for the buildinge and maintaineinge of his castell of the Cavan and all other necessary romes and offices about the same, borne and payed by the gentill and others of the barrony of the Cavan.

"The dewtis of the towne of the Cavan also by the said custom, as rents, dringk, and other dewtis now takin and not denied.

"Item, Sir Hugh Oreley, father unto the said Sir John, had in morgadge from divers of the gentill of Clonmahon xlvi. pooles in Gawne, l. mylche kyne w<sup>ch</sup> morgage discended upon Sir John, and he

was seised of the said xlvi. pooles untill the divission, which he desired to continue possession of or els that he may be payed the said l. milche kyne."

### Of the Saltair Chaisil.

The Psalter of Caiseal is particularly referred to in the Book of Rights as the work in which St. Benean entered the traditional history of the tributes of the kings of Munster:

Benén—beanbacha pop in n-gen,  
do pao ro a Saltair Chaisil,  
reancur cach rig ip a path,  
ip beach imithéic típ Muman.—*Infrà*, p. 52.

This passage occurs in a poem which we may take to have been the composition of Seabach and Aenghus, to which Cormac Mac Cuileannain adds his approval, recording his direction that his secretary and scribe should preserve the privileges of Munster as Benean had left them. In another part of the poem the same document is evidently referred to under the name of the Psalter of the God of Purity, in which it was found that Benean remained at Caiseal from Shrovetide to Easter.—p. 60.

There is another entry in our work, in an addition to the prose in the copy contained in the Book of Baile an Mhuta, alleging that the Psalter of Caiseal had said that Benean sang or wrote the song which follows: "*hoc carmen ut Psalterium Caisil dixit.*" p. 238. It is clearly a mistake to attribute that poem, at least in its present state, to Benean; but it is not clear what particular document the writer of the prose meant to designate as the *Psalterium Caisil*.

Therefore we proceed to lay before the reader some information



respecting the Psalter or Psalters so called ; and this may seem the more requisite, as we have already, in giving the grounds for believing that Benean or Benignus framed the original Book of Rights, shown a most ancient testimony, proving that he commenced and composed a *Psalterium Casselense*, in which the rights, or *jura*, of the Irish monarchs, &c., were stated: see Colgan's extracts from the Latin Life of Benignus, quoted above, p. v.

It is remarkable that Colgan, who had that notice in the Life of Benignus before him, takes no notice of it, but in another place (*Trias Thaum.*, p. 205), ascribes the writing or compiling of the *Psalterium Cassellense* to Cormac Mac Cuileannain. His words are as follows:

"S. Cormacus Rex Momoniæ, Archiepiscopus Casselensis, et martyr, qui in patriis nostris annalibus peritissimus Scotorum appellatur, scripsit de Genealogiâ Sanctorum Hiberniæ, lib. i., et, de Regibus aliisque antiquitatibus ejusdem, nobile opus quod *Psalterium Cassellense* appellatur, et in magno semper habetur pretio. Passus est S. Cormacus an 903, vel ut alii 908." Keating, in his History of Ireland, Haldaday's edition, Preface, p. xcvi., makes a like allegation in a passage which we shall presently cite.

Notwithstanding this testimony of Keating and Colgan, who seem to have been well acquainted with the literary monuments of their native country, we are informed by Connell Mageoghegan, in the dedication of his translation of the "Annals of Clonmacnoise" to Terence Coghlan, dated April 20th, 1627, that the "Psalter of Cashel" was compiled by the order of the great Irish monarch, Brian Borumha. His words are:

"Kinge Bryen seeinge into what rudeness the kingdome was fallen, after setting himself in the quiet government thereof, and restored each one to his auncient patrimonye, and repaired their churches and houses of religion, he caused open schools to be kept in the several

parishes, to instruct their youth, which by the said warres were growen rude and altogether illiterate. He assembled together all the nobilitie of the kingdome, as well spirituall as temporall, to Cashell in Munster, and caused them to compose a booke, containing all the inhabitations, events, and septs that lived in this land, from the first peopleing and inhabitation and discoverye thereof, after the creation of the world, untill that present time, which booke they caused to be called by the name of the PSALTER OF CASHELL; signed it with his owne hand, together with the hands of the kings of the five provinces, and also with the hands of all the bishoppes and prelates of the kingdome; caused several copies thereof to be given to the kinges of the provinces, with strict charge that there should be no credit given to any other chronicles thenceforth, but should be held as false, disannulled, and quite forbidden for ever.

“ Since which time there were many septs in the kingdome that lived by itt, and whose profession was to chronicle and keep in memorie the state of the kingdome, as well for the time past, present, and to come; and now, because they cannot enjoy that respect again by their said profession, as heretofore they and their auncestors received, they sett nought by the said knowledge, neglect their bookes, and choose rather to putt their children to learn English than their own native language; insomuch that some taylors do cutt with their scissars the leaves of the said bookes which were [once] held in greate account, and sleice them in long peeces to make measures of, so that the posterities are like to fall into grosse ignorance of any things which happened before their time.”

Now these accounts look rather conflicting, but the probability is that they are all true: i. e. that St. Benean commenced the Psalter; that Cormac continued it down to his own time, and remodelled the Book of Rights so as to state the tributes and stipends of the country, as they

then stood; or, to use the words of our text (pp. 107, 169, 190), map atá; and that King Brian had a further continuation framed to his time. It cannot be proved that the prose introductions in the present work were composed when King Brian compiled his Psalter; but they must have been written not very far from his time; for it is plain that they were composed long after the poems of Cormac's day, to which they are prefixed, and there is every reason to believe from the entire context, that they were written before the Anglo-Norman invasion, and while the Northern Galls were masters of Dublin.

Keating, and others of his day, whom we shall presently cite, mention the Psalter of Caiseal and the Book of Rights as separate works; but we must recollect that the Book of Rights stood separate in the MSS. from which we print it, and no doubt in other MSS., some centuries before his time.

The Psalter of Caiseal is constantly referred to by the Irish writers of the seventeenth century as the work of Cormac Mac Cuileannain, and as *then extant*. Keating (*ubi supra*) mentions it as the first and most important of the historical books extant in his time. The following are his words:

“A gúir an méid a beanar pé seanúir Eireann is inimearta go raib barántamail, do bpiú go n-ghlantaí: b-Péir Teampac gac tneap bliadain é, do laéar uairle, eaglaire, agus ollaman Eireann. Óis a fíadhaire pin ar na pphmleabpaib go ríor atá pé na b-íarain fóp: n-Eirinn, map atá, Saltair Chairil, do rpiob Cormac naomta Mac Cuileannain, piú dá cóigeas Muman agus áirde-eapog Chairil; Leabap Áirde Maá; Leabap Chluana h-Eirneac Fionntain, i Laoigir; Saltair na Rann, do rpiob Aongus Céile Dé; Leabap Ghlinne Dá Lóc; Leabap na g-Cearc, do rpiob Denén naomta mac Seirgnéin; Uidir Chiapáin, do rpiobad: g-Cluain mic Nóir; Leabap Duide Mholing; agus Leabap Dub Mholaga.”

Which may be translated as follows:

“As to what belongs to the history of Ireland, it should be considered that it is authentic, because it used to be purged at the Feis Teamhrach every third year, in the presence of the nobility, clergy, and ollamhs; in evidence of which remain the following chief books, which are still to be seen in Ireland, viz.: *Saltair Chaisil*, written by the holy Cormac Mac Cuileannain, king of the two provinces of Munster, and Archbishop of Caiseal; the Book of Ard Macha (Armagh); the Book of Cluain Eidhneach Fionntain, in Læighis; *Saltair na Rann*, written by Aenghus Ceile De; the Book of Gleann Da Loch; *Leabhar na g-Ceart*, written by the holy Benean, son of Sesgnean; *Uidhir Chiarain*, which was written at Cluain mic Nois; *Leabhar Buidhe Mholing*; and *Leabhar Dubh Mholaga*.”

Doctor John Lynch, who was contemporary with Keating, mentions these books in a different order, in his translation of Keating's *History of Ireland*:

“Hæc cum ita sint, et insignium etiam exterorum authorum testimoniis comprobata, si vel leviter ad ea aspicerent recentiores Angli authores, amplam profectò benè potius quam malè de Hiberniæ loquendi ansam haberent; et quidem amplissimam, si domestica Hiberniæ documenta legerent, et intelligerent, fidem enim illa exigunt indubitam, quandoquidem tertio quoquo anno in Comitibus Teamorensibus a regni proceribus, præsulibus, et literatis accuratè exouterentur. Illa quidem post Catholicam fidem ab insulâ susceptam, episcoporum custodiæ tradebantur. Et sunt sequentes libri etiamnum extantes: *Liber Armachanus*<sup>1</sup>, *Psalterium Casselense*, a sancto Cormaco Culenano, utrius-

<sup>1</sup> *Liber Armachanus*.—It is doubtful whether this is the MS. now called the Book of Armagh, which could scarcely be called a *primleabhar reancúra*, as it

contains only some notices of the life of St. Patrick, and which was called *Canoin Phadruig* by the Irish. It was probably a historical Manuscript of the same sort as

que Momoniæ Rege, Cassiliæque Archiepiscopo conscriptum: Liber Nuachongbhála<sup>m</sup>; Liber Cluain Egnach Fintoni<sup>n</sup> in Lesiá; Psalterium Rithmorum<sup>o</sup> Aengi cognomento Dei familiaris, sive Colideus, (Clongur Céile Oé); Liber Glindalochensis<sup>p</sup>; Liber per Sanctum Benignum Seisgneni filium, confectus, inscriptus Jurium Liber<sup>q</sup> (Ceabhan na g-Ceapt); Uidhir Chiarain<sup>r</sup> Cluanmacnoisæ perscriptus; Liber Flavus de Moling<sup>s</sup>; Liber Niger de Molagga<sup>t</sup>.”

Sir James Ware also mentions the Psalter of Cashel (in his Irish Writers, at Cormac Mac Cuileannain; and in his Archbishops of Cashel, at Cormac), as extant in his time, and held in high esteem; and adds that he had some genealogical collections which had been extracted from it about three centuries before his time.

Lhwyd, Nicholson, and Dr. O’Conor (Epist. Nunc. p. 65), have all mentioned that there is a part of the Psalter of Cashel in an old

Leabhar na h-Uidhri, or the Annals of Clonmacnoise.

<sup>m</sup> *Liber Nuachongbhála*.—There are at least six churches of this name in Ireland, one in Mayo, one in Westmeath, one in Londonderry, one in Clare, one in Cork, and we are informed by Colgan that it was the ancient name of “Navan,” in the county of Meath. Nothing, however, remains, or at least is known to the Editor, to tell which of these places the book belonged to, or what became of it.

<sup>n</sup> *Liber Cluain Egnach Fintoni*, i. e. the “Book of Clonenagh,” a monastery near Mountrath, in the Queen’s county, erected by St. Fintan. Keating elsewhere calls this the Annals of Cluain Eidhneach, and gives a long quotation from it, which treats of the Synod of Rath Breasail, and gives the boundaries of the Irish dioceses as established by that Synod. This MS.,

which was one of great importance, is now unknown.

<sup>o</sup> *Psalterium Rithmorum*.—A copy of this, on vellum, is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

<sup>p</sup> *Liber Glindalochensis*.—A considerable fragment of this MS. is now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

<sup>q</sup> *Jurium Liber*.—This is the Ceabhan na g-Ceapt, now for the first time printed.

<sup>r</sup> *Uidhir Chiarain*, now called Leabhar na h-Uidhri. A considerable fragment of this MS., in the handwriting of Maelmuire, son of Celiochair Mac Cuinn na m-Bocht, is now preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy.

<sup>s</sup> *Liber Flavus de Moling*. The Yellow Book of St. Moling is now unknown.

<sup>t</sup> *Liber Niger de Molagga*.—Now unknown.

Psalter is preserved as it was copied for Edmond Mac Richard Butler in 1453.

At fol. 14, a. a., line 29, the transcriber states that there ends the part copied from the Book of Cong, called *Leabhar an Phreabain*. The first notice of the *Saltair Chaisil* occurs at fol. 42, b., where the limits of Ur Mhumha or Ormond are given.

At fol. 58, b., the scribe writes that he had then transcribed all that he found together (consecutive, or without chasms) in the Psalter of Cashel (α Saltair Chaisil), and much from *Leabhar Rathain*, and from *Leabhar an Phreabain*.

At fol. 59, a. a., commences the *Feilire Aenghus* or *Festilegium of Aenghus Ceile De*, which is accompanied, as usual, by an interlined gloss. This, which is in very good preservation, ends on fol. 72. It was evidently copied from the *Saltair Chaisil*. This is immediately followed by a poem headed *Finghin cecinit do Chormac mac Cuileannain*, Finghin sang for Cormac Mac Cuileannain, and beginning:

“Dá maó mairi bap í péil.”

“Were I a king manifestly.”

Fol. 73, a. a. A poem on the genealogy of the kings of Munster, beginning:

“Cain cúic maccu Crimthunn réim?”

“Who were the five sons of Crimthann Sreimh?”

This is undoubtedly copied from the *Saltair Chaisil*.

Fol. 73, a., line 16, begins a poem on the descendants of Oilioll Olum, king of Munster:

“Clann Ailella Olum uill.”

“The sons of the great Aileall Olum.”

Between the folios now consecutively marked 74 and 75 there is an evident chasm.

Fol. 75, a. a., line 16, begins the genealogy of the race of Eir-  
eamhon (Heremon), undoubtedly copied from the *Saltair Chaisil*.  
“*Hibernia insula inter duos filios principales Militis, id est Herimon et*  
*Eber, in duas partes divisa est.*” This article is also to be found, *totidem*  
*verbis*, in the Books of Leacan and Baile an Mhuta (Ballymote), in which  
it is distinctly stated that it was transcribed from the *Saltair-Chaisil*.

At fol. 78 there is a chasm of many folios, though the modern  
pagination runs consecutively.

Fol. 79, a. A part of Cormac's Glossary, beginning with the word  
imbup popopno. The remainder is perfect, but two folios are mis-  
placed. On the folio marked 81 is a short account of the seats of the  
kings of Caiséal. The glossary ends on folio 86, col. 3, where Seaan  
Buidhe O'Cleirigh writes a memorandum that he had finished the  
transcription of the *Sanasan* or Etymologicon of the *Saltair Chormaic*,  
on the fifth day of February and eighth of the moon, for Edmund But-  
ler Mac Richard.

Fol. 80, b. A tract on the derivations of names of places in Ire-  
land, stated on the second last line of col. b., to have been transcribed  
from *Leabhar Buidhe Fearna*, i. e. the Yellow Book of Ferns. The  
matter, from this down to fol. 93, was probably taken from the  
*Leabhar Buidhe Fearna*, but from thence to folio 123 is evidently  
from the *Saltair Chaisil*. The principal contents are as follows:

Fol. 93, a. a. Genealogy of the Race of Eibhear. The language  
very ancient.

Fol. 93, b. a. line 29. A curious account of the sons of Eochaidh  
Muigh-mheadhoin, monarch of Ireland in the fourth century, and of  
their father's bequest to each of them.

Fol. 93, b. b. An account of the cause of the expulsion of certain  
families from the north of Ireland, and their settlement in the south,  
beginning in Latin thus: “*De causis quibus exules Aquilonensium ad*  
*Mumenenses.*”

Fol. 94, b. b., line 17. A historical tale relating to Mac Con, monarch of Ireland, and Oilíol Olum, king of Munster.

Fol. 96, a. a. An account of the Battle of Magh Mucruimhe, fought near Athenry, County Galway, between the ex-monarch Mac Con, and Art, monarch of Ireland in the third century.

Fol. 98, a. a., line 22. Curious historical stories, in very ancient language, relating to Crimhthann Mor Mac Fídhgaigh, monarch of Ireland, and other Munster kings of the race of Eibhear.

Fol. 99, b. b. An account of the expulsion of the people called *Deise* from Midhe (Meath), and their settlement in Munster. The language is very ancient.

Fol. 106, b., col. 3. A genealogical account of the Race of Ir, seventh son of Mileadh or Milesius. This is very copious, and the language very ancient, as is manifest from its grammatical terminations and obsolete idioms.

Fol. 111, b. a. A list of the Milesian or Scotie kings of Ireland, from Eireamhon (Heremon) down to Brian Borumha. This affords strong evidence that the *Saltair Chaisil* was enlarged or continued by that monarch.

Fol. 115, a., cols. 2, 3. A list of the bishops of Ard Macha (Armagh), synchronized with the kings of Caiseal. Colgan has published this list in his *Trias Thaum.*, p. 292, as "*ex Psalterio Casselensi*." It is carried down to Domhnall, who succeeded A.D. 1092, and who was living when this list was made out. Lanigan remarks, in his *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 357, note 59, that some writers pretend that Cormac was not the author of this, and that it was compiled after his times; and he acknowledges that "there are some circumstances mentioned as taken from it, which belong to a later period; for instance, the latter part of the catalogue of the archbishops of Armagh (*apud Tr. Th.*, p. 292), which comes down to the latter end of



the eleventh century. But this proves nothing more than that some additions have been made to the original work of Cormac, as has been the case with regard to numbers of historical works, particularly those written in the middle ages."

Fol. 115. A list of the kings of Dal Araidhe, which is followed by a list of the Christian kings of Ireland, down to Maelseachlainn II., who died in 1022.

Fol. 116, a., col. 2. A list of the Christian kings of Connacht.

Fol. 119, a., col. 3. A list of the kings of Aileach.

At the bottom of this folio the scribe writes,

"Gach ní féomair d'fagbail 'ra penlebur .i. a Saltair Cairil atá againn 'ra leabap ro na Ráta."

i.e. "Everything we could find in the old book, i.e. the *Saltair Chaisil*, we have [preserved] in this book of the Rath."

From thence down to fol. 146 would appear to have been taken from a different MS.

It is quite evident from the notices in this MS. that the *Saltair Chaisil* was not then perfect, and that even of what was then transcribed from it the Bodleian MS. contains but a small fragment. It affords no evidence whatever as to *Leabhar na g-Ceart*, except the fact that the Psalter of Caiseal, in which a certain form of it must have been preserved, was continued down to about the year 1020.

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*Of the Will of Cathaeir Mor, and other pieces introduced into  
Leabhar na g-Ceart.*

THE rights of the king of Leinster are introduced by a piece which is called the Will of Cathaeir Mor. It has no apparent connexion with the Book of Rights, save that some of the principal tribes of

Leinster descended from the sons of Cathaeir, and that the rights and stipends of those descendants are treated of. Cathaeir was monarch of Ireland in the second century, and it was one of the great glories of the Leinstermen, that their kings had held that station. At a much later period Diarmaid Mac Murchadha (Dermot Mac Murrugh) in haranguing his Leinster troops, is reported to have said, in reference to king Rudhraidhe O'Conchobhair (Roderick O'Conor): "Sed si Lagenniam quaerit, quoniam alicui Connactensium aliquando subiecta fuit: eâ ratione et nos Connactiam petimus quia nostris aliquoties cum totius Hiberniæ subdita fuerat monarchiâ."—*Hibernia Expugnata*, Dist., c. viii.

The king of Caiseal's right to be king of all Ireland is stated in our text (pp. 28, 51, 52, *infra*), as to which, and the controversy on the subject, we have already said so much (pp. xiii.-xvii.) So are the rights of the kings of Aileach (pp. 125, 127, 129) and of Teamhair (p. 177), to be monarch, i. e. the rights of the northern and southern Ui Neill. A similar recognition is given to the king of Laighin (p. 205).

Of the will of Cathaeir Mor, in the shape in which it has been edited, there are extant three copies on vellum, i. e. besides those inserted in our two copies of the Book of Rights, there is another in what is called the Book of Leinster, or *Leabhar Laighneach* (Leacan, fol. 92), with which the text of the present edition has been compared. Besides these we have another vellum copy, or, we might say, another will, in the Book of Baile an Mhuta (Ballymote), fol. 74, a. b. It is very different from the text which we have adopted, but evidently less authentic, being longer, and very verbose and rhapsodical. There is also a paper copy in the O'Gorman collection, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. It is in the handwriting of Peter O'Connell, who made a translation of it into English for the use of O'Gorman, who prided himself on his descent from this great monarch. This

copy, which professes to have been taken from the Book of Gleann Da Loch (Glendalough), accords in arrangement with the copy in B., but it appears, from some verbal differences, that it was not taken from it. The copy consulted by O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, p. iii. c. 59, was different from any of these.

This will has been mentioned by O'Flaherty and most modern writers on Irish history, as an authentic document contemporaneous with the testator. See p. 192. But the Editor is of opinion that it was drawn up in the present form some centuries after the death of Cathaer Mor, when the race of his more illustrious sons had definite territories in Leinster. Whether there was an older form of this will, or whether it was committed to writing in Cathaer's own time, are questions which the Editor is not prepared to settle.

The Editor does not know of any copy of the *Benedictio Patricii*, save those from which our text has been printed (p. 234). But there is in *Leabhar Breac* (fol. 14, b. a.) a blessing of the saint on Munster, which bears some resemblance to that here given.

Dubhthach Mac Ui Lughair, the author of poems quoted at p. 236, is noticed by O'Reilly in his Chronological Account of the Irish Writers under the year 433, where it is stated that he was the poet and druid of Laeghaire, monarch of Ireland, at the commencement of St. Patrick's mission, and that he was converted to Christianity by that apostle. The reader will there find some account of him and his writings. But O'Reilly there assumes that the poem in the Book of Rights, commencing *Teamair teac a m-bi mac Cuinn*, is ascribed to Dubhthach; and he says that some doubts may be reasonably entertained that this poem is the production of Dubhthach. But nothing is found in our text ascribing the poem in question to him. The copy in the Book of Baile an Mhuta says that it was found in the Psalter of Caiseal.

A poet, Lughair, is named and quoted at p. 204, and called *Úán* file, or full poet.

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*On the References to Tomar<sup>u</sup> as King or Prince of the Galls of  
• Dublin.*

WE have reserved to this place a discussion upon these very curious references, and they appear to us worthy of a separate consideration, as the investigation may lead to fix the exact period at which the Norse or Danish tribes settled in Dublin.

In Mr. Lindsay's View of the Coinage of Ireland, where a great deal of information respecting the succession of the Hiberno-Danish kings of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and Waterford is collected, nothing is found with regard to the name Tomar. The royal pedigree is traced up to the brothers Amlaf I. 853, 870, and Imar or Ifars I. 870, 872, but no higher.

In our work (at page 40) the monarch, in making a circuit of Ireland, arrives at the entrenched Ath Cliath (Dublin), where, it is stated, he is entitled to a month's refection, *ó mairib Tomar*, from Tomar's chieftains, and to have the king of the bounteous ford (Ath Cliath), to accompany him to the Leinstermen, viz., to Liamhain (Dunlavan).

The Galls of Dublin, within the jurisdiction of the kings of Laighin or Leinster, were liable to pay heavy tribute to him, pp. 218-220, and on the other hand the stipends of the king of Leinster to them for their services were also large. These are said to be payable *oo thiupc Thomar*, to the prince Tomar.

The Four Masters, under the year 942, quote some lines, from which it would appear that "Race of Tomar," was a kind of patronymic for the Galls, foreigners, or Danes of Dublin.

<sup>u</sup> Pages 40 and 220, *infra*.

"Ro corcraoð Aeth Cliath claidbeach  
 co n-imat ríat ríeo teaglaic;  
 po cpaibead Muintir Thomair,  
 i n-iaréar domain, debrad.

"Ath Cliath of swords was plundered  
 Of many shields and families;  
 The Race of Tomar were tormented  
 In the western world, it has been manifested."

The earliest reference to a Danish prince Tomar occurring in the Irish annals is at the year 847, where the Annals of Ulster contain the following notice of a Danish prince Tomair, which is decidedly the same name as Tomar:

"A. D. 847. Cat pé Maelsechnaill for gennet i Forair, in quo ceciderunt recti cet. Bellum pé n-Olchoður, ní Múman, acur pé Lorgán mac Ceallaig co Laigiu occ Sciað Nechtan in quo ceciderit Tomair Eréll, canaire níg Laélinne, acur dá cet déc imbi."

Thus rendered in the old translation of these Annals preserved in the Library of the British Museum. Clarend. tom. 49. Ayscough, 4795.

"A. D. 847. A battle by Maelsechnaill vpon the Gentyes" [i. e. Gentiles or Pagan Danes] "at Fora, where 700 fell. Bellum by Ollchovar, king of Mounster, and Lorgan mac Cellai into Leinster [recte, with the Leinstermen] vpon Gentiles at Sciah Nechtan, where fell Tomair Eréll, the next or second in power to the king of Laihlin, and 1200 about him."

\* Tomair. Dr. O'Connor prints this Domair. The old translator reads the

MS. more correctly "Tomair." *Quere*, Tomar or Tompar, see p. xli.

The same events are recorded by the Four Masters, under the year 846, as follows:

"ΑΙΟΙΡ ΟΡΙΟΡΕ, 846. Κατ' ηραοινεδ' ηια Μαιλρεαχλαινν μαε Μαιλρुанаид' φορ γαλλαιβ' ι φοραγ' ου ιη ηο μαρδαδ' υηι. c. λαηρ οιοδ'.

"Cae oile ηια η-Ολχοδαν ηι Μυμian, αγυρ' ηια Λορcan μαε Ceallaig' ηι Λαιγεαν co Λαιγνιβ' αγυρ' Μυμian ιομπα φορ γαλλαιβ' acc Sceit' Nechtain, ιη ηο μαρδαδ' Τομραιρ\* Erla, ταναηρε Ριγ' Λοcλαινne, αγυρ' δα' εδο' νεc υιμε."

"The age of Christ 846. A battle was gained by Maelseachlainn, the son of Maelruanaidh over the Galls [Danes] at Forach, where seven hundred of them were slain by him.

"Another battle [was gained] by Olchobhar, king of Munster, and by Lorcan, the son of Ceallach, king of Leinster, with the Leinstermen and Munstermen about them, over the Danes at Sciath Neachtain, where Tomrair Erla, Tanist of the king of Lochlann, was slain, and twelve hundred about him."

It will appear from a passage in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 994, that this earl or prince's ring, and the sword of Carlus, his contemporary, were preserved in Dublin, from which, coupled with the references\* in *Leabhar na g-Ceart*, and the poem cited

\* *Tomrair*. — Dr. O'Connor prints this *Tomrair*, and the name is so written in the MS. copy made for the Chev. O'Gorman, now in the Royal Irish Academy.

\* This argument is much strengthened by the fact that *Tomar* is called *τοπc* in *Leabhar na g-Ceart*, see page 206. This term, which is also written *οπc* is explained "a king's son" in Cormac's Glossary, and by Michael O'Clery. *Torc* *Tomar* of *Ath Cliath* is then clearly the *Tomrar*, Earl, Tanist of the king of *Lochlann*, who was

killed at *Sciath Neachtain*, in 847, and whose chain or ring was preserved at Dublin, in 994. The pedigree of *Imhar*, the ancestor of the Danish kings of Dublin, is given in none of the Genealogical Irish works hitherto discovered; and in the absence of direct evidence it is reasonable to assume that, as the Danes of Dublin had his ring or chain in 994, this ring or chain descended to them as an heir-loom from him; and as they are called *Muintir Thomair*, in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the

by the Four Masters at the year 942, it may be inferred with much certainty that this Tomar or Tomrar was the ancestor of the Danish kings of Dublin, and very probably the father of Amhlaf and Imhar, the first of these kings, by whom his sword was preserved. The passage is as follows:

“*Goir Cpiort 994. Fáil Tomar agur claidheab Chapiura do eabairt do Maolseachlainn mac Domnall an éiccin ó gallaib Áta Cliath.*”

“The age of Christ 994. The ring of Tomar and the sword of Carlus were carried off by Maelseachlainn, the son of Domhnall, by force, from the Galls of Ath Cliath (Dublin).”

This Tomar is clearly the Erla and Tanist of the king of Lochlann, slain at Sciath Neachtain in the year 847; and Carlus, whose sword was carried away by Maelseachlainn, was the son of Amlaff I., king of Dublin, and the person who was killed in the battle of Cill Ua n-Daighre (Killoderry) in the year 866, as thus recorded by the Four Masters:

“*Goir Cpiort 866. Flano mac Conaing tigeapna breḡ uile, do éionól Fear m-breag, Laigen, agur gall, co Cill Ua n-Daighre, cúig míle lion a poeapade ind acchaid an picch Aoða Finnleir. Ní raibé Aoð aet aon míle ná má, im Concobar mac Taiḡ, ní Connac̃t. Ro fearaḡ an cae co díocraio dútapaetac̃ etopra, agur po meabaio pó*

year 942, it may be further inferred that they were also his descendants; for if we examine the Irish tribe-names to which Muintir is prefixed, we will find that the second part of the compound is the name of the progenitor, as Muintir Macmordha, Muintir Murchadha, Muintir Eoluis, Muintir Chionastha, &c., which were the tribe-names of the O'Reillys, O'Flahertys, Mac Rannalls, and Mac Kinaws, all of whom

descended respectively from the ancestors whose names enter into the latter part of the tribe names. The word Muintir is, however, now more extensive in its application, and means people or family.

*Maelseachlainn*, called Malachy II. monarch of Ireland. This entry is the theme on which Moore founded his ballad,

“Let Erin remember the days of old.”

deoið epia neapc iomgona agur iomaiecc for piona ðpeð for Lai-  
ghin agur for gallaib, agur no cuiread a n-ár, agur toréarabar ro-  
caide mór do gallaib ip in c-caé rin. Toréair ann Flann, mac  
Conaing, tigeapna ðpeð, agur Diarmaid mac Eteerpeoil, tigeap-  
na Loáa Gabar, agur Carlur mac Amblaib mac tigeapna gall.  
Toréair d'on leie apaill Facna mac Maoilebúin, Ríogdamna an  
Phoela h-i ppiéguin an cáta. Mannacán tigeapna Ua m-ðriuin  
na Sionna po mápð Flann, oia n-ebpað:

“Mór an buaid do Mannacán  
Do glonn an gairceid gairg  
Cend mic Conaing i n-a láim  
Do baig for ioncaib mic Taidg.”

“The age of Christ 866. Flann, the son of Conaing, lord of all Breagh, collected the men of Breagh, Laighin, and the Galls, to Cill Ua n-Daighre, five thousand being the number of his force, against the king Aedh Finnliath. Aedh had but one thousand only, together with Conchobhar, son of Tadhg, king of Connacht. The battle was vigorously and earnestly fought between them, and at length the victory was gained through dint of fighting and conflict over the men of Breagh, over Laighin, and over the Galls, who were slaughtered, and great numbers of the Galls were slain in that battle. In it fell Flann, son of Conaing, lord of Breagh, and Diarmaid, son of Eidersceal, lord of Loch Gabhair<sup>2</sup>; and Carlus, son of Amhlaibh, son of the lord of the Galls. There fell on the other side, in the heat of the conflict, Fachtna, son of Maelduin, prince of the north (i. e. of Aileach). Mannachan, lord of Ui Briuin na Sionna was he who killed Flann, of which was said:

<sup>2</sup> *Loch Gabhair*.—The territory of this chieftain lay around Dunahaughlin. See Colgan's *Acta SS.*, p. 422, note 14. The lake is now dried, but the place retains the

name Logore to this day. See Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. i. p. 424, Mr. Wilde's Account of Antiquities found there.



"Great the victory for Mannachan,  
For the hero of fierce valour,  
[To have] the head of the son of Conaing in his hand  
To exhibit it before the face of the son of Tadhg."

There was another Tomar or Tamar at Limerick about a century later. He is mentioned in the work called *Cogadh Gall fri Gaedh-alaibh* (an important and curious tract, the publication of which has been contemplated by the Irish Archæological Society), under the name of Tamar Mac Elgi. In the copy of that work preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 2, 17, p. 359, he is said to have come with a royal great fleet, some time after the death of the monarch Niall Glun-dubh, who was slain in the year 916, and to have put in at Inis Sibtond, at Limerick. The same person is mentioned in Mageoghegan's translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, under the year 922, where the following strange passage occurs:

"A. D. 922. Tomrair Mac Alchi, king of Denmarck, is reported to go [to have gone] to hell with his pains, as he deserved."

This is evidently the Tamar mac Elgi of H. 2, 17.

The name Tomar and Tomrar became common as the proper name of a man among the Gæidhil or Milesian Irish in the tenth and eleventh centuries, like Maghnus, Raghnaill, Amhlæibh, Imhar, and other Danish names; and a family of the Cineal Eogháin took the surname of O'Tomhrair from an Irishman who was baptized by the name of Tomhrar from his mother's people. This family were seated near Lough Swilly, in the county of Donegal, where they built a family church, called from their surname Cill O'Tomhrair, i. e. church of the O'Tomhrairs. This family still remains in many places in the province of Ulster, reduced, and obscure, and disguised under the anglicized name of Toner or Tonry.

*Of the Tract prefixed to the Book of Rights, entitled "Geasa agus Buadha Riogh Eireann."*

THE Tract on the *Geasa* and *Urghartha*, and the *Buadha* and *Adha*,—i. e., as we have rendered the words, the Restrictions and Prohibitions, and the Prerogatives of the Kings of Eire or Ireland,—is curious for the glimpses which it affords into the notions that prevailed in this country in the eleventh century, in the time of Cuan O'Lochain.

Cuan O'Leochan or O'Lothchain, as he is sometimes called, or, as the name is more generally spelt, O'Lochain, was chief poet to Maelseachlainn (Malachy) II., monarch of Ireland, who died in 1022. After the death of this monarch there was an interregnum of twenty years, and we are informed that Cuan O'Lochain and Corcran Cleireach were appointed governors of Ireland; but Cuan did not long enjoy this dignity, for he was slain in Teabhtha (Teffia), A. D. 1024. Mr. Moore states, in his History of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 147, that "for this provisional government of Cuan he can find no authority in any of our regular annals;" and it is certain that no authority for it is found in any of the original Irish annals, nor even in the Annals of the Four Masters; but the fact is stated as follows in Mageoghegan's translation of the "Annals of Clonmacnoise" [Cluain mic Nois], a work which professes to be a faithful version of the original, although in some instances it has been obviously interpolated by the translator.

"A. D. 1022. After the death of king Moyliseaghlyn, this kingdom was without a king twenty years, during [a portion of] which time the realm was governed by two learned men, the one called Cwan O'Lochan, a well learned temporall man and chiefe poet of Ireland, the other Corcran Cleireagh, a devoute and holy man that was [chief] anchorite of all Ireland, whose most abideing was at Lismore. The

land was governed like a free state and not like a monarchie by them.

"A. D. 1024. Cuan O'Loghan, prime poet of Ireland, a great chronicler, and one to whom, for his sufficiency, the causes of Ireland were committed to be examined and ordered, was killed by one of the land of Teaffa; after committing of which evill fact there grew an evill scent and odour of the party that killed him, that he was easily known among the rest of the land. His associate Corkran lived yett, and survived him for a long time after."

The death of Cuan O'Lochain is also recorded by Tighearnach, who died in the year 1088, and who may have seen him in his youth. His death is also entered in the Dublin and Bodleian copies of the Annals of Ulster as follows:

"A. D. 1024. Cuan h-Ua Lothcán prímicep Éirinn do marbhadh i (o)-Teabha d' éapant Teabha féin: bpénait a n-aen uap in luét po marb: fuit file mpein."

Thus translated by Dr. O'Connor, who has sadly mangled, if not falsified, many curious passages in the Irish annals:

"Cuan O Lothcan, præcipuus sapiens Hiberniæ occisus in Teffia. Judicium vñh cecidit in eos qui eum occiderunt."

But the old translator of the Annals of Ulster, who was infinitely better acquainted with the Irish language than Dr. O'Connor, paraphrases it as follows, evidently from a text different from the two above referred to:

"A. D. 1024. Cuan O'Lochan, archpoet of Ireland [was] killed treacherously by the men of Tehva, ancestors of [the] Foxes; they stunk after, whereby they got the name of Foxes, a miracle shewed of the poet."

The notice of the killing of him, and the consequent visitation upon the murderers, is thus given in the Annals of Kilronan:

"A. D. 1024. Cuan Ua Lócáin .i. prím-éigerr Éirenn, oo marbáð la Teófa. Do righe Dia rípe fileð co follur ap an luét ro marb, óir no bárrageð a n-órch-óigeð iab, 7 ní ro h-aónaiceð a (g)-cuirp gur foáuil foel 7 foluamain iab.

"A. D. 1024. Cuan Ua Lochain, chief poet of Ireland, was killed by the Teffians. God wrought a miracle for the poet manifestly upon the party who killed him, for they met their deaths in a tragical manner, and their bodies were not interred until the wolves and birds preyed upon them."

For a brief account of the poems ascribed to O'Lochain the reader is referred to O'Reilly's *Irish Writers*, pp. 73, 74. The first poem there mentioned has since been published in Petrie's *Antiquities of Tara Hill*, Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xviii. pp. 143.

Charles O'Connor of Belanagare, in an anonymous pamphlet written by him in 1749, against Sir Richard Cox's Appeal on the Behaviour of Dr. Charles Lucas, writes as if he had in his possession some MSS. of Cuan O'Lochain. It appears from the Memoirs of his Life and Writings, written by his grandson, the late Dr. Charles O'Connor, p. 211, that Mr. O'Connor would never have acknowledged this pamphlet to be his production, were it not that his correspondence with Reilly, the publisher of it, obliged him to acquiesce. In this pamphlet Mr. O'Connor says:

"What I have advanced on this subject I have extracted from our ancient MSS., the only depositories of the form of our ancient constitution, and particularly from the MSS. of Cuan Ó'Loghan, who administered the affairs of Ireland on the death of Malachy II. Anno Domini 1022."

Having premised thus much with regard to the author of the poem, we may now say something as to the subject of the tract; and first of the words used.

Ḡeara: in the Sing., Nom. ḡeir, Gen. ḡeire (fem).—This word is in common use in the sense of conjuration or solemn vow; cuirim fá ḡearaib éú, "I conjure thee," is a common saying.—See tale of Deirdre, in the Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Dublin, p. 23, where O'Flanagan translates it "*solemn vow*," and "injunctions," in a note on the word. In this tract, however, the word is clearly used to denote "anything or act forbidden, because of the ill luck which would result from its doing:" "Aruspex vetuit ante brumam aliquid. novi negotii accipere."—*Terence*. It also means a spell or charm.

It is used here as the opposite or antithesis of buaó, and synonymous with

Upḡarḡa: O'Reilly gives a word upḡarḡ (s. m.), which he explains, "bad luck, misfortune, fatality;" but this word is rather to be formed from the verbal noun upḡarḡ (mas.), signifying prohibition, interdiction, hindrance; see also eapḡarḡ, in O'Clerigh's Glossary of ancient Irish words. It is used here as the antithesis of óa.

ḡuaó: in the Sing. buaó (fem.) This is still the living Irish word for victory. When applied to plants or herbs in medical MSS. it denotes virtue, power, &c. See the *Battle of Magh Rath*, pp. 84, 85, 280, where the three victories or remarkable events of the battle are called epi buaó in cátha; and see p. 239, *infra*, where it is translated "gift".

Óa: in the Sing., Nom. óó, Gen. óa (mas.) In a MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, H. 3, 18, this is explained by buaó, and it is evidently here used instead of it: the things which will insure good luck and success. The word óó is still used in every part of Ireland to denote good luck or success.

Whether the customs and popular beliefs or superstitions, recorded in this poem, had ever been drawn up into a code before O'Lochain's time, it would now be difficult to determine; but we find a collection of the

kind in the concluding piece of *Leabhar na g-Ceart* (*infra*, p. 238, &c.), where some of the prohibitions are identical with O'Lochain's. Many of those matters are clearly of Pagan origin, and the reference to the king of Leinster drinking by the light of wax candles in the palace of Dinn Riogh, shows that the poet considered some of these customs as in existence from the most remote period of Irish history, as the kings of Leinster had not resided at Dinn Riogh since the introduction of Christianity, for they deserted it for Nas (Naas) at a very remote period. The prohibition, "that the sun should not find him in his couch at Teamhair," has also reference to a period many centuries anterior to O'Lochain's time; for the monarchs of Ireland had not resided at Teamhair or Tara since about the year 565, when it was cursed by St. Ruadhan, or Rodanus, of Lothra. See MS. Trin. Col. Dub., H. 1. 15, and *Vita Sancti Rodani* in the *Codex Kilkenniensis*, now preserved in Marsh's Library, Class v. 3, Tab. i. No. 4, F., and as published by the Bollandists at 25th April; and see also Connell Mageoghagan's translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, MS. Trin. Col. Dub., F. 3. 19, p. 45, and Petrie's *Antiquities of Tara Hill*, p. 101-103. Its abandonment is also mentioned in the Danish work called the *Konungs-Skuggsio* quoted in Johnstone's *Antiq. Celto-Scand.*, p. 287. From these facts it is quite obvious that some of those customs were regarded by the poet as derived from the most remote periods, and that the observance of them in his own time was reckoned absolutely necessary to the welfare of the monarch and the provincial kings.

We recollect little in Irish history to guide us to the origin of many of the curious restrictions here recorded; but it is quite obvious that some of them have arisen from precaution, others from a recollection of mischances. Look at the following restrictions of the monarch of Ireland:

To alight on a Wednesday in Magh Breagh; to traverse Magh Cuil-

linn after sunset; to incite his horse at Fan-Chomair; to go on Tuesday into North Teabhtha; to go on a ship upon the water the day after Bealltaine (May day).

Such restrictions are not without parallels in the observances of other nations, and there are many maxims of a similar kind known to prevail even among wealthy classes in the present day, to an extent that is seldom acknowledged. The prohibition against beginning any new undertaking on a Friday is quite a *geis* of the class mentioned in our text. The prohibition against sitting down to dinner, thirteen at table, is particularly remarkable, and every shift is commonly made to avoid or escape from it, with a real apprehension that, if the fatal number be complete, one of the party will surely die within the twelvemonth. So the prohibition that the bridegroom's mother shall not go to church with the bridal party is strictly submitted to; she must not be present at the marriage ceremony anywhere—at church or at home; and though the parties concerned be in the habit of calling such beliefs “superstitious,” yet, when it comes to the point in this matter in their own case, it will be found that the *geis* will not be violated.

Addison, in the *Spectator*, has a paper relevant to this point, in which he adduces curious instances of English superstitions, and tracts of the present day are not wanting, giving particular evidence on the same subject.

Observances of a like nature were common among the Pagan nations of what is considered classical antiquity, as we learn from their writers:

“Sæpè malum hoc nobis, si mens non læva fuisset,

De cælo tactas memini prædicere quercus.

Sæpe sinistra cavâ prædixit ab ilice cornix.” — *Virg. Eclog. i. 16.*

“Ipsa dies alios alio dedit ordine Luna

Felices operum : quintam fuge ; pallidus Orcus

Eumenidesque sate ; tum partu Terra nefando  
 Cæumque Iapetumque creat, sævumque Typhœa,  
 Et conjuratos cælum rescindere fratres."—*Id.* Georg. i. 280.

The origin of the *adha* or *buadha* may be similarly accounted for. Some of them savour strongly of Pagan notions.

*On the Division of the Year among the ancient Irish.*

As the seasons of the year are frequently mentioned in this book, it will be well here to add a few words on the divisions of the year among the ancient Irish. Dr. O'Connor has attempted to show, in his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, Epistola Nuncupatoria*, lxxi. *et seq.*, and in the Stowe Catalogue, vol. i. p. 32 : 1. That the year of Pagan Irish was luni-solar, consisting, like that of the Phœnicians and Egyptians, of 365 days and six hours : 2. That it was divided by them, as it is at present into four *ratha* or quarters, known by the names of *Samh-ratha*, *Foghmhar-ratha*, *Geimh-ratha*, and *Iar-ratha*, now corruptly *Earrach*, or summer, autumn, winter, and spring ; the first of these quarters commencing at the vernal equinox, the second at the summer solstice, the third at the autumnal equinox, and the fourth at the winter solstice ; 3. That at the beginning of each of these *ratha* a religious festival was celebrated, but that the periods when they were celebrated were changed by the early Christians, to agree with the Christian festivals, and to obliterate the recollection of the origin of the Pagan rites which they were not able utterly to abolish. That such a change was made he infers from a passage occurring in all the old Lives of St. Patrick, which states that Patrick lighted the Paschal fire at Slane in 433, at the same time that King Laeghaire was celebrating the festival of *Bealltaine* at Teamhair ; which would be fair enough if the fire were



called *Bealltaine* by any of Patrick's ancient biographers; but it is not, and therefore Dr. O'Connor's inference wants the *vis consequentiæ*. In the oldest Life of St. Patrick extant, namely, that by Mocutenius, preserved in the Book of Armagh, the fire lighted by the king of Teamhair, and Patrick's Paschal fire, are mentioned as follows :

“Contigit verò in illo anno, idolatriæ sollempnitatem quam gentiles incantationibus multis, et magicis inventionibus, nonnullis aliis idolatriæ superstitionibus, congregatis etiam regibus, satrapis, ducibus, principibus, et optimatibus populi, insuper et magis, incantatoribus, aurspicibus, et omnis artis omnisque doli inventoribus doctoribusque vocatis ad Loigaireum, velut quondam ad Nabcodonossor regem, in Temoriâ, istorum Babylone, exercere consuêrant, eâdem nocte quâ Sanctus Patricius Pasca, illi illam adorarent exercentque festivitatem gentilem.

“Erat quoque quidam mos apud illos per edictum omnibus intimatus ut quicumque in cunctis regionibus sive procul, sive juxtâ, in illâ nocte incendissent ignem, antequam in domu regiâ, id est, in palatio Temoriæ, succenderetur, periret anima ejus de populo suo.

“Sanctus ergo Patricius Sanctum Pasca celebrans, incendit divinum ignem valdè lucidum et benedictum, qui in nocte refulgens, a cunctis penè plani campi habitantibus visus est.”—*Book of Armagh*, fol. 3, b.

It is also stated in the *Leabhar Breac* as follows:

“*Téir Pátraiç iap rin cu Fearta fep Feicc. Adántap teiniò occa ip in mud rin fepcor na Cárc. Fepgairthep Loegaire ód chí in teiniò, áp ba h-ípin geir Tempach oc Goedeluib; ocup ní lámaó nech teiniò d'fatóó i n-Eipind ip ind lou rin, no cu n-adánta h-i Tempairg ap eúr ip in pollamam.*”—Fol. 14, a 1.

“Patrick goes afterwards to *Fearta Fear Feicc*. A fire is kindled by him at that place on Easter eve. *Laeghaire* is enraged as he sees the fire, for that was the *geis* [prohibition] of *Teamhair* among the *Gaedhhil*;

and no one dared to kindle a fire in Ireland on that day until it should be first kindled at Teamhair at the solemnity."

Now, however these two passages may seem to support Dr. O'Connor's inference, it is plain that the fire lighted at Teamhair is not called *Bealltaine* in either of them. It should be also added that it is not so called in any of the Lives of Patrick. According to a vellum MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 3, 17, p. 732, the fire from which all the hearths in Ireland was supplied was lighted at Tlachtgha [at Athboy] in the Munster portion of Meath, and not on the first of May, but on the first of November; while, according to Keating, the author of the *Dinnseanchus*, and others, the fire called *Bealltaine* was lighted at Uisneach, in the Connacht portion of Meath, on the first of May, which for that reason is called *La Bealltaine* to the present day. The probability then is, that the fire lighted at Teamhair, on Easter eve, A. D. 433, was not the *Bealltaine*, but some other fire, and it is stated in the second life of St. Patrick, published by Colgan, that it was the Feis Teamhrach, or Feast of Teamhair, that Laeghaire and his satraps were celebrating on this occasion; while the author of the Life of St. Patrick in the Book of Lismore, asserts that Laeghaire was then celebrating the festival of his own nativity, which appears to have been the truth, and if so it was not the regular septennial Feis<sup>a</sup>, which met after *Samhain*, but one convened to celebrate the king's birth-day. From these notices it is quite clear that O'Connor's inference, that the *Bealltaine* was lighted on the 21st of March by the Pagan Irish, is not sustained. In the accounts given of the *Bealltaine*

<sup>a</sup> This is usually called triennial, as in the passages quoted from Keating, &c., above, p. 25, 26, *gac tpeap bliabain*; but it is every seventh year in this work, in the prose of L. at p. 6, and in the Various Readings of B., p. 272; and in the poem

of L., p. 22, though the other reading there in B. makes it every fifth year, p. 273, n. 56. See also the poem, p. 240, *infra*, where both copies, L. & B., have *cach reachtmao Samna*, i. e. every seventh *Samhain*.

in Cormac's Glossary, and in H. 3. 18, p. 596, as quoted in Petrie's Antiquities of Tara Hill, *no time is specified* for the lighting of it, nor could we be able from them, or from any other written evidence yet discovered, to decide in what season it was lighted, were it not that the first of May is still universally called in Irish *La Bealltaine*. But Dr. O'Connor argues that this name was applied in Pagan times to the 21st of March, and that it was transferred to the first of May by the early Christians, to agree with a Christian festival. This, however, is contrary to the tradition which still prevails in many parts of Ireland, namely, that the fires lighted in Pagan times, on the first of May, were transferred by St. Patrick to the 24th of June, in honor of St. John the Baptist, on the eve of whose festival they still light bonfires in every county in Ireland, and not on the first of May, except in Dublin, where they continue to light them on the 1st of May also. The observances still practised on May-day (which have no connexion whatever with Christianity) and the traditions preserved in the country respecting it, found a strong argument that it must have been a Pagan festival, while the 21st of March is not remarkable for any observances. The same may be observed of *Samhain*, the 1st of November, on which, according to all the Irish authorities, the Druidic fires were lighted at Tlachtgha. The Editor is, therefore, convinced that Dr. O'Connor has thrown no additional light on the division of the year among the Pagan Irish, for his conjecture respecting the agreement of the Paschal fire of St. Patrick with the *Bealltaine* of the Pagan Irish is visionary, inasmuch as it is stated in the second life by Probus that it was the Feis Teamhrach that Laeghaire was then celebrating. The words are given in very ancient Irish, as follows, by the original author, who wrote in the Latin language: "Ír ír mō cūm ír ír am do pignebh fear Tempaohi la Loegaime mac Neill 7 la ír ír Eipeann," i. e. "It is in that time indeed that the *Feis Temh-*

radhi was made by Loegaire, son of Niall, and by the men of Eire.”—  
See Colgan’s *Trias Thaum.*, pp. 15, 20.

The fact seems to be that we cannot yet determine the season with which the Pagan Irish year commenced. As to Dr. O’Conor making *earrach*, the spring, the last quarter, because, in his opinion, it is compounded of *iar* and *ratha*, *postremus anni cursus*, it can have no weight in the argument, because there is not the slightest certainty that this is the real meaning of the term, for in Cormac’s Glossary the term is explained *urughadh*, i. e. *refreshing*, or renewing, and it is conjectured that it is cognate with the Latin *ver*: it may be added that it is almost identical with the Greek *ἔαρ*, *ἔαρος*.

That the Pagan Irish divided the year into four quarters is quite evident from the terms *Earrach*, *Samhradh*, *Foghmhar*, and *Geimhridh*, which are undoubtedly ancient Irish words, not derived from the Latin through Christianity; and that each of these began with a stated day, three of which days are still known, namely, *Bealltaine*, otherwise called *Ceideamhain*, or beginning of summer (see p. 20, *infra*), when they lighted fires at Uisneach, in the beginning of *Samhradh*; *Lughnasadh*, the games of Lughaidh Lamh-fhada, which commenced at Tailte on the first day of *Foghmhar*, the harvest; and *Samhain*, i. e. *Samh-fhuin*, or summer-end, when they lighted fires at Tlachtgha. The beginning of *Earrach*, the spring, was called *Oimeic*, which is derived from *oi*, ewe, and *meic*, milk, because the sheep began to yearn in that season, but we have not found that any festival was celebrated.

In a MS. in the Library of the British Museum (Harleian MSS., H. I. B., No. 5280, p. 38), the names of the days with which the seasons commenced are given in the following order:

“O Samhsuan co h-Oimeic, h-o Oimeic co Beltine, h-o Beltine co Ōpon-troghain,” i. e. “from Samhsuan to Oimeic, from Oimeic to Beltine, from Beltine to Bron-troghain.” And the following explanations are then given by way of gloss:

"Samhain dno .i. samfuin .i. fuin in t-samraib ann, ar ir be poinn no bio for an m-pliaoin and .i. in samraib o Delaine co Samfuin, acur in Teimpeo o Samfuin co Delaine," i. e. "Samhain, i. e. Samhfuin, i. e. the end of *Samradh* [summer] is in it, for the year was divided into two parts, i. e. the *Samradh*, from Beltine to Samfuin, and the *Geimhredh*, from Samfuin to Beltine."

A similar explanation of Samfuin is given in H. 3. 18, p. 596, and in O'Clery's Glossary.

*Oimelc* is derived from *imme-folc*, and explained *taise an ear-naig*, i. e. the beginning of Spring, or from *oi-melc*, sheep-milk: "Ir hi ampuir mhpenn a ticc ar caepiuic acur i m-bleagaur coipicch," i. e. "This is the time when the milk of sheep comes, and when sheep are milked." In Peter O'Connell's MS. Dictionary, *oimelc* is also written *imbulc*, and explained *Feil Brioge*, i. e. St. Bridget's festival, 1st February, which day has for many centuries been called *La Feile Brighde*, the older name being obsolete.

*Beltine*, the name of the first day of summer, is thus explained:

"Delaine .i. bil taine .i. tene joinnech .i. da teneb do gnioir la h-aerf pectai no opui co tincetlaib mopaib, 7 do leobir na cepra etarrae ar teomannaib cecha bliaina; no Delaine; Del oin ainm De laail; ir ann do[er]ar pelbri oine gacla cepra for reilb Del."

"*Beltine*, i. e. *biltine*, i. e. lucky fire, i. e. two fires which used to be made by the lawgivers or druids, with great incantations, and they used to drive the cattle between them [to guard] against the diseases of each year. Or *Bel-dine*; *Bel* was the name of an idol god. It was on it [i. e. that day] that the firstling of every kind of cattle used to be exhibited as in the possession of *Bel*." See a similar passage quoted in Petrie's *Antiquities of Tara Hill*, p. 60.

*Bron-troghain*, the name of the first day of the next season is explained *Lughnasadh* [Lammas], i. e. "Taise Fogamaip .i. ir and do

bpoine troḡain .i. talam fo eoiréip. Troḡan bin ainm do éalam,” i. e. “the beginning of *Foghamhar*, i. e. in it Troghan brings forth, i. e. the earth under fruits. Troghan, then, is a name for the earth.”

In the Book of Lismore, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, (fol. 189, a) mīr troḡain is explained, *Ḳuḡnara*, Lammas.

In Cormac's Glossary (as we have already intimated), eppac, the spring, is explained upuḡac, i. e. refreshing, and derived from the Latin *ver*; but it is much more like the Greek *ἔαρ ἔαρος*.

Samrac is thus explained in Cormac's Glossary:

“Samrac, quari sam ip mo Ebra sol ip in Latim unde dicitur Samron .i. sol eorum. Samrac bin .i. riab rīer Ḳrian, 7 ip and ar mo do [é]atne a poille acur a h-airbe, i. e. *Samhradh*, quasi *samh* in the Hebrew, which is *sol* in the Latin, *unde dicitur Samson*, i. e. *Sol eorum*. *Samhradh*, then, a *riadh*, i. e. a course which the sun runs, and it is in it that its light and its height are the most resplendent.”

In O'Clery's Glossary, the monosyllable *samh* is explained by Samrac, summer. It is clearly the same word as summer.

In the same Glossary the harvest is defined as the name of the *last* month, do'n mīr beigenaḡ po h-ainmnīḡeac, and derived quari Foḡamur .i. poḡa mīr n-Ḳaim, the foundation of the month of Gamh or November. It has a close resemblance to, and perhaps the same origin as, the Greek *ὥρα*, for if we prefix the digamma, and aspirate the *π*, we have *Φωφρα*. This, and the relationship of *ἔαρ*, *ἔαρος* with eppac, have never been remarked before.

In Cormac's Glossary, *Geimhredh*, winter, is conjectured to be from the Greek *Gamos* (Γάμος), and this conjecture is attempted to be strengthened by the remark, “*inde [in eo] veteres mulieres duzerunt*!” In the same Glossary, *voce* Cpoicenn, as well as in O'Clery's, the monosyllable gam is explained *hiems*, *geimpeac*, and it is quite evident that this, or *geim*, is the primitive form of the word, and it is cognate with

the Welsh *gauaf*, the Greek *χίμα*, and the Latin *hyems*. The probability, therefore, is, that the terminations *radh* or *readh*, added to the simple *samh* and *gamh*, or *geimh*, are endings like the *er* in the Saxon *summ-er*, *wint-er*, though there is a possibility that they may be compounded of *samh*, and *gamh* or *geimh*, and *re*, time. There is not the slightest probability that the terminations *rach*, *radh*, *ar*, *readh*, in the terms *earrach*, *samradh*, *foghmhar*, *geimhreadh*, are corruptions of *ratha*, a quarter of a year, as Dr. O'Connor takes for granted.

It might at first sight appear probable that the year of the Pagan Irish began with *Oimec*, the spring, when the sheep began to yearn and the grass to grow; but this is far from certain; and if there be no error of transcribers in Cormac's Glossary, we must conclude that the last month of Foghamhar, i. e. that preceding *Mis Gamh* or November, was the end of their summer, and of their year, *Foghamar .i. do'n mír déigenaig po h-ainmnigeaó*, i. e. *Foghamhar*, was given as a name to the last month. Since the conversion of the Irish to Christianity they began the year with the month of January, as is clear from the *Feilire Aenghuis*.

Besides the division of the year into the four quarters, of which we have spoken, and into two equal parts called *gam* or *geim* (Welsh *gauaf*) and *ram* (Welsh *haf*), it would appear from a gloss on an ancient Irish law tract in H. 3. 18, p. 13, T. C. D., it was divided into two unequal parts called *Samh-fucht* [*tuét*, i. e. *time*], or summer-period, and *Gamh-fucht* or *Geimh-fucht*, i. e. winter-period; the first comprising five months, namely, the last month of Spring, and the three months of Summer, and the first month of Autumn; and the other the two last months of Autumn, the three months of Winter, and the two first months of Spring. This division was evidently made to regulate the price of grazing lands.

*On the Chariots and Roads of the ancient Irish.*

THE mention of chariots in this work requires some observations. St. Patrick, according to his Tripartite Life, published by Colgan, visited most parts of Ireland in a chariot. The *carbad* is also mentioned in the oldest Irish stories and romances, as in the *Tain Bo Cuailgne*, in which Cuchullainn's *carbad* (chariots), and his *ara*, or charioteer, are constantly mentioned. There was a locality at Teamhair or Tara, called *Fan na'g-Carbat*, or slope of the chariot, and it is distinctly stated in the Life of St. Patrick preserved in the Book of Armagh, that the Gentile or Pagan Irish had chariots at Tara before their conversion to Christianity.

According to the ancient Irish annals, and other fragments of Irish history, the ancient Irish had many roads which were cleaned and kept in repair according to law. The different terms used to denote road, among the ancient Irish, are thus defined in Cormac's Glossary, from which a pretty accurate idea may be formed of their nature:

"Róe .i. roue .i. ró-jét .i. mó olbap jét .i. pemta uniu animal. Aitae epa il-anmanha for conairib .i. jét, róe, pamut, rliqe, lám-potae, tuad-potae, boear.

Sét cetamur ut ppeuiximur.

Roue .i. da pacat no da cuat carpat ob aenach dae imme do ponad fpi hecpaite menoota for mebon.

Ramat .i. mó olbap róe .i. uppcup bfr for up dúuib riq. Cac comairgeach a tpi do pó cuice oleqar de a glanao.

Slige bin do fcuao éappat fech aiaile do ponta fpi h-imco-marc da éappat .i. carpat riq ocup carpat eppcoip co n-bechaio cac ae oib fech aiaile.

Zamrota .i. ier dá rliqib, rliqe dap tuaircepe menoota, aiaile dap a becepe fpi leppu fpi cae do ponao.



Τυαῖνοτα φορ chen φορ επεδαρ conair do arcnam ποιοι no pléide.

Óóchar epa .i. calla dí boin alanae φορ φοτ, apaile φορ tappra φορ a callut a laeig no a n-gamna ina fáil, maó i n-a n-diaig bepp upcur in bó ber da eppi.

“Ατάιτ τεορα ḡlanta do caé ae. Tpi haimpepa i n-ḡlantap .i. ampep echpuathair, aimpup chuae, aimpep cochea. Ite a tpi ḡlanta .i. ḡlantaó a feóa ocup a uirce ḡ a coélaib. Ite aicpi φορ a nḡlantap .i. ap nellneó a éappat oc dul φορ coe ap nellneó a echpaíde oc techt do aenach ḡca.”

“ROT, i. e. ROUT, i. e. RO-SHET [a great *set*, or path], i. e. greater than a SET. i. e. *semíta unius animalis*. There are many names upon the roads, i. e. sed, rot, ramhat, slighe, lamh-rotae, tuadh-rotae, bothar:

“SET, *imprimis, ut prædicimus* [i. e. *semíta unius animalis*].

“ROUT [ro-shet, great path], a chariot goes upon it to the fair; it was made for the horses of a mansion *in medium*.

“RAMHAT, i. e. wider than a ROT, i. e. an *urscur*, an open space or street, which is in front of the forts of kings. Every neighbour whose land comes up to it is bound to clean it.

“SLIGHE: for two chariots pass by each other upon it; it was made for the meeting of two chariots, i. e. the chariot of a king and the chariot of a bishop, so that each of them might pass by the other [without touching].

“LAMHROTA, i. e. [it extends] between two *slighes*, one to the north of a mansion, and the other to the south; it was made for forts and for houses.

“TUAGHROTA [farm road], for the passage of the husbandman, a passage which reaches to a ROT, or a mountain.

“BOTHAR: two cows fit upon it, one lengthwise, the other athwart, and their calves and yearlings fit on it along with them; for if they were behind them the cow that followed would wound them.

"There are three cleanings for each. Three periods at which they are cleaned, i. e. time of horse-racing, time of cuo, time of war. These are the three cleanings, i. e. cleaning of wood [brushwood], of water, of weeds. These are the causes for which they are cleaned: on account of their dirtying of the chariot going on a journey, for dirtying of the horses coming from the fair, &c."

According to the ancient Irish topographical work, called Dinnseanchus, there were five great roads in Ireland, called by the following names, viz., Slighe Dala, Slighe Asail, Slighe Midhluachra, Slighe Cualann, and Slighe Mor. Lughaidh O'Clerigh, in his poetical controversy with Tadhg Mac Daire, urges in support of the dignity of Conn of the Hundred Battles, the ancestor of the dominant families of Leath Chuinn, that these five roads, which led to the fort of Teamhair, were first discovered on the birth-night of this great monarch, and he is borne out in this assertion by the authority of the Dinnseanchus, though neither of these great authorities, nor O'Flaherty, who reiterates the same wonderful fact (*Ogygia*, page 314), tells us the meaning of *discovering* these roads. It may be a bardic mode of recording that these roads were completed by Feidhlimidh the Lawgiver, on the day before Conn was born, and that the people travelled by them on the next day. But old stories of this kind are found among every ancient people, and are worthy of preservation for the historical facts which they envelope. At whatever period these great roads were made, they indubitably existed, and are frequently referred to in Irish historical tales, from which their positions may be pretty accurately determined. Slighe Dala was the great south-western road of Ireland, which extended from the southern side of Tara hill, in the direction of Ossory. Slighe Asail was a western road extending from the hill of Tara in the direction of Loch Uair (Lough Owel), near Mullingar, in Westmeath. A part of this road is distinctly

referred to in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, as extending from *Dun na n-Airbhedh* to the cross at *Tigh Lomain*. *Slighe Midhluachra* was a northern road, but nothing has been yet discovered to prove its exact position. *Slighe Cualann* extended from *Tara*, in the direction of *Dublin* and *Bray*, and *Slighe Mor* was the great western road, the lie of which is defined by the *Eiscir Riada*, a line of gravel hills extending from *Dublin* to *Meadh-raighe*, near the town of *Galway*. See *Petrie's Antiquities of Tara Hill*, p. 205, and see the *Bealach Duibhlinne* mentioned in our work at p. 14.

Besides these great highways there are various others of inferior character mentioned in the Irish annals, and in the bardic histories of Ireland, at an early period. Keating mentions the following: *Bealach Cro*, *Bealach Duin Bolg*, *Bealach Chonglais*, *Bealach Dathi*, *Bealach Gabhrain*, *Bealach Mughna*, *Bealach Mor*, in *Osraidhe* [another name for *Slighe Dala*], *Bealach na Luchaide*, in North Munster. The following roads are referred to in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, at various years. The dates are added to such as are mentioned before the English Invasion: *Bealach an Chamain*, *Bealach an Chluainin*, *Bealach an Chrionaigh*, *Bealach an Diothruibhe*, *Bealach an Fhiodhfail*, *Bealach an Fhothair*, *Bealach an Mhaighre*, *Bealach Bodhbha*, A. D. 866; *Bealach Buidhe an Choirrshleibhe*, *Bealach Chille Brighde*, *Bealach Coille na g-Cuiritin*, *Bealach Chonglais*, *Bealach Cro*, *Bealach Duin*, *Bealach Duin Bolg*, A. D. 594; *Bealach Duinn Iarainn*, *Bealach Ele*, A. D. 780; *Bealach Eoochoille*, A. D. 1123; *Bealach Fedha*, A. D. 572; *Bealach Fele*, A. D. 730; *Bealach Gabhrain*, A. D. 756; *Bealach Guirt an Iubhair*, A. D. 1094; *Bealach Ithain*, *Bealach Leachta*, A. D. 976; *Bealach Lice*, A. D. 721; *Bealach Mor Muighe Dala*, *Bealach Mughna*, A. D. 903; *Bealach Muine na Siride*, A. D. 1144; *Bealach na Bethighe*, *Bealach na Fadhbhaighe*, *Bealach na g-Corr-ghad*, *Bealach na n-Gamhna*, *Bealach na h-Urbhron*, *Bealach natha*, A. D. 866; *Bealach Ui Mhithidhein*, *Bothar Mor Cnamhchoille*, *Bothar na Mac Riogh*.

Various other roads are mentioned in the lives of the Irish saints, and in the Irish historical tales, but it would be out of place to dwell further upon the subject in this place. There is, however, one road, the position of which it is necessary to fix before we can determine the boundary between Laighin Tuath-ghabhair and Laighin Deas-ghabhair, or north and south Leinster, namely, that of Gabhair. This seems to have been the name of a road somewhere near Carlow, but its exact position and extent have not as yet been ascertained. The following reference to it in a historical tale preserved in the Book of Leinster, a MS. of the twelfth century, preserved in Lib. Trin. Col. Dub., H. 2. 18, may help to fix its position, or at least direction. The champions conversing are Lughaidh mac na d-tri Con and Conall Cearnach, who are introduced as standing on the banks of the River Liffey:

“Ragat-ra, ar Zugar, for Belac Gabruain co n-beúr for Beluc Smechuin. Airg-ris [.i. eoir-ris] amne for gabuir for Maig Laigen co comairrem i Maig Airget Ror.”—Fol. 78, b.

“I shall go, said Lughaidh, upon Bealach Gabhrúain till I get on Belach Smechuin. Now go thou upon Gabhair on Maig Laighean, that we may meet on Magh Airgead-Ros.”

Maig Laighean is the mountain of Sliabh Mairge, *Anglicè* Slew-margue, a barony on the west side of the Barrow, in the south-east of the Queen's County, across which, doubtlessly, this road extended. Magh Airgead-Ros, where the champions appointed to meet, was the ancient name of a plain on the River Eoir, *Anglicè*, the Nore, in Ossory; and its position is marked by the fort of Rath Bheathaidh or Eoir i n-Airget-Ror, now Rathveagh, on the Nore.

See Annals of the Four Masters, Anno Mundi, 3501, 3516; and Tighe's Statistical Account of the County of Kilkenny, *Antiquities*, p. 629.

*Of Chess among the ancient Irish.*

THE frequent mention of chess in this work shows that chess-playing was one of the favorite amusements of the Irish chieftains. The word *fiéceall* is translated "*tabulæ lusoriæ*," by O'Flaherty, where he notices the bequests of Cathaeir Mor, monarch of Ireland, *Ogygia*, p. 311. In Cormac's Glossary, the *fiéceal* is described as quadrangular, having straight spots of black and white. It is referred to in the oldest Irish stories and historical tales extant, as in the very old one called *Tochmarc Etaine*, preserved in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, a Manuscript of the twelfth century, in which the *fiécell* is thus referred to:

"Cia t'ainm-reo? ol Eochaid. Ní apóairec fón, ol fé, Míoir óreğ Léir. Cio uot roaet? ol Eochaid? Do imbirte fióéille fíreir, ol fé. Am maíe fé em, ol Eochaid, fop fiééill? A fíomáó dún, ol Míoir. Aatá, ol Eochaid ind rígan i n-a coelud, ip le in tech ata in fiééill. Aatá fíunó éenae, ol Míoir fióéell nao merro. Óa fíir on: élap narpie ocup fíir óir, ocup fupfíunáó [i. lapaó] caéa haip-oi fopir in élap oi lúic loğmáir, ocup fep bolg oi fíirí rono epédu-mae. Ecpíuó Míoir in fióéill iar fín. Imbir, ol Míoir. Ní im-mépaet oi gíull, ol Eochaid. Cio gell biarann? ol Míoir. Cumma lim, ol Eochaid. Rot bia lim-ra, ol Míoir, má tú beper mo éo-cell caegat gaéur n-óuğlar."

"What is thy name?" said Eochaidh. 'It is not illustrious,' replied the other, 'Midir of Brigh Leith.' 'What brought thee hither?' said Eochaidh. 'To play fithcheall with thee,' replied he. 'Art thou good at fithcheall?' said Eochaidh. 'Let us have the proof of it,' replied Midir. 'The Queen,' said Eochaidh, 'is asleep, and the house in which the fithcheall is belongs to her.' 'There is here,' said Midir, 'a no worse fithcheall.' This was true, indeed: it was a board of silver and pure

gold, and every angle was illuminated with precious stones, and a man-bag of woven brass wire. Midir then arranges the fithcheall. 'Play,' said Midir. 'I will not, except for a wager,' said Eochaidh. 'What wager shall we stake?' said Midir, 'I care not what,' said Eochaidh. 'I shall have for thee,' said Midir, 'fifty dark grey steeds, if thou win the game.'"

The Editor takes this opportunity of presenting to the reader four different views of the same piece, an ancient chess-man—a king—found



in Ireland, which is preserved in the cabinet of his friend, George Petrie, LL.D.; he has never discovered in the Irish MSS. any full or detailed description of a chess-board and its furniture<sup>b</sup>, and he is,

<sup>b</sup> See the line in p. 242, *fóinne co n-a b-fíchehillaiḃ*, MS. L.—the family, brigade, or set of chessmen,—*fóinne fínna* is the reading in MS.

B. In another place, page 246, we have *fíchehill acur bpanouḃ bán*, a chessboard and white chessmen; which words may be considered to determine the

therefore, unable to prove that pieces of different forms and powers, similar to those among other nations, were used by the Irish, but he is of opinion that they were. From the exact similarity, as well in style as in material, of the original, to those found in the Isle of Lewis, and which have been so learnedly illustrated by Sir Frederick Madden, in an Essay published in volume xxiv. of the *Archæologia*, the Editor is disposed to believe that the latter may be Irish also, and not Scandinavian, as that eminent antiquary supposed. It would, at all events,



seem certain that the Lewis chess-men and Dr. Petrie's are contemporaneous, and belonged to the same people; and no Scandinavian specimen, white. The chess king in Dr. Petrie's cabinet is of bone, of very close texture, and is the same size as the above engraving.

The Editor takes this opportunity of adding to the note on "swords," p. 32, the following extract from O'Flaherty :

After quoting the passage in *Cambrensis*, he adds, without any comment: "They wear, likewise, very sharp and long swords, sharp at one side only, wherefore they strike with the side only and not the point."—*Ogygia*, part iii. c. 39.

mens, as far as the Editor knows, have been as yet found, or at least published, which present anything like such a striking identity in character. Dr. Petrie's specimen was given to him about thirty years ago by the late Dr. Tuke, a well-known collector of antiquities and other curiosities in Dublin; and, as that gentleman stated, was found with several others, some years previously, in a bog in the county of Meath.

The *feap fíóúille*, or chessman, is also frequently referred to in old tales, as in the very ancient one called *Tain bo Cuailgne*, in which the champion Cuchullainn is represented as killing a messenger, who had told him a lie, with a *feap fíóúille*:

“Θα ανοβοι Cuchullainn oc imbirte fíóúille ocup Loeğ mac Rian-  
gabhae a aupa féiyn. Iy som cuibiuð-ya on, op ré, so ðerpa  
bréc im nac meapange. Zapodain so llécú dia fepaib fíóúilli son  
techtairpe co mboi fop lóp a incinne.”

“Cuchullainn and his own charioteer, Loegh, son of Rianganbhra, were then playing chess. ‘It was to mock me,’ said he, ‘thou hast told a lie about what thou mistakest not.’ With that he cast [one] of his chessmen at the messenger, so that it pierced to the centre of his brain.”—*Leabhar na h-Uidri*.

Again, in a romantic tale in the same MS., the *feap fíóúilli* is thus referred to:

“Ciar bo móp ocup ciar bo aipeğða epa Loeğaire tallartair i  
n-oen glaic mo fip bod fainic feib tallad mac bliaðna, ocup cot  
nomailt etip a ði ðoir iarpuibiu amail tairiðniðep fep fíóúilli fop  
tairiðin.”

“Though great and illustrious was Loeghaire, he fitted on the palm of one hand of the man who had arrived as would a one-year-old boy, and he rubbed him between his two palms, as the *fíúhülle* is drawn in a *tairidin*.” See also *Battle of Magh Rath* pp. 36, 37.



*On the Irish Text and Translation.*

ON a careful comparison of the two vellum copies of which we have spoken in the opening of this Introduction, it was found that the copy in the Book of Leacan, though not free from defects and errors, is by far the more correct one, and it has, therefore, been unhesitatingly adopted as the text of the present edition.

Sentences, words, &c., omitted from the copy in the Book of Leacan, and found in the other copy, have been supplied [in brackets] to the Irish text; and the more remarkable *variae lectiones* have been added for the inspection and consideration of the critical scholar at the end of this volume. It has not been considered necessary to notice the *omissions* of the Book of Baile an Mhuta in all cases.

The exact orthography of the Book of Leacan has been preserved throughout, but the contractions have been dispensed with; and the grammatical marks, such as hyphens, apostrophes, and stops, and also the marks of long quantity, eclipsis, and aspiration, have been supplied according to the genius of the language and the most approved modern pronunciation, except in the first piece (which is not part of *Leabhar na g-Ceart*, though usually prefixed to it), which has been printed without these latter marks, as a specimen of the text, showing to what a small extent the dot, as a mark of aspiration, was used of old<sup>a</sup>. The letter h postfixed to consonants (being capital letters) to denote aspiration, and the g- or other consonant prefixed to mark eclipsis have been enclosed (in parentheses) to point out to the reader the addition even of a letter made by the Editor, and to distinguish at once to his eye these latter from the additions [in brackets] obtained

<sup>a</sup> See some further remarks connected with this subject given with the "Various Readings," at the end of the volume, p. 290, *infra*.

from the second copy of the text. The reason for supplying the aspirations and eclipses must be evident to all those who understand the grammatical structure of the Irish language, for in many instances the sense of the language, and particularly the syntactical concord, is uncertain without them. The Irish text, stripped of its aspirations and eclipses, might be said to resemble the Hebrew text of the Old Testament given without the Masoretic points which determine the sounds; but the use of the Irish marks is still more important. It is true that if the language became a dead one it could be understood without the aspirations used at the middle and end of words, as, *raipugað, óenam, mnaiþ*, which might be as intelligible to the eye as *rápúgað, óénam, mnáíþ*; but the aspirations and eclipses which, at the beginning of words, point out the gender and number of words, and determine the force of particles, can never be dispensed with without obscuring the sense. For example, the letter *α*, as a possessive pronoun, denotes sometimes *his*, sometimes *her*, and at another time *their*: as, if it be required to say *her* head, the *c* will have its radical sound, *α ceann*; if *his* head, the *c* will be aspirated, *α céann*; and if *their* head, the *c* will be eclipsed, *α g-ceann*; from which it is quite evident that, if the aspiration and eclipsis were omitted, the meaning of the word *α* could not be seen. It has been asserted that the ancient pronunciation differed from the modern in retaining the sounds of many consonants which are now aspirated; but there is no proof of this, as the same letter in the same grammatical situation is found sometimes aspirated and sometimes not, in the most ancient Irish MSS. extant; and it is quite fair to conclude from this fact, that these marks of aspiration were omitted as one might neglect to dot an *i*, or to cross a *t*, and the omission took place through the mere haste of transcribers, though sometimes perhaps intentionally, especially on those consonants which were *always* pronounced as aspirate, as *b* in the termination of the dative or ablative

plural, and ḡ and ʋ in the termination uḡʋʋ, and ʋ in ʋʋ, the termination of active participles, or progressive active nouns. The eclipsing consonants are also equally necessary to the sense, for when they are omitted, the sense is sometimes so obscured that the meaning can only be guessed at, or discovered by investigation too troublesome to impose at all times on a reader.



Geasa agus buadh  
ríogh Eireann.

# ḡeasa agus buada ríogh eireann.

ḡeasa ḡ upḡarḡa ríḡ Eireno ḡ ríḡ na cuiceab anro ríḡ.

Seacht n-upḡarḡa ríḡ h-Eirino anro .i.

Tupcbail ḡneni far ina loḡi i Muig<sup>a</sup> Theampach; euplaim<sup>a</sup> Cheataine i Muig<sup>a</sup> ḡreag; imtheacht Muig<sup>a</sup> Cuillino iar fuineao n-ḡrene; rlaḡi<sup>a</sup> a each<sup>a</sup> i Fan<sup>a</sup>-chomair; teacht dia Maire for Teathra<sup>a</sup> thuaircepte; bḡoineach<sup>a</sup> for beathra in Luan iar m-ḡeall-taine<sup>a</sup>; rlichte pluair for Aeth Mairne [ja Maire] iar Samuin<sup>a</sup>.

A feacht m-buaba:

Iarc ḡoinoi [da comair]; riao Luibnigi; mear Manano; rraechmeap ḡríg Leirhi<sup>a</sup>; bḡor ḡorḡaroi; uirce thobair Thlachta; milraḡ Nairi<sup>10</sup>: h-i Calaino Auguir do rorithoir rin uili do ríḡ Teampach. An bliabain i temleao inbḡin ni cheirḡab i n-aircam raeḡail do<sup>11</sup> ḡ ir riam no moirḡab ar caḡ leat.

Coic upḡarḡa ríḡ Laignean anro .i.

Tairmchell Cetaine for Tuairth Laignean for tuairthbeal; cob-

<sup>a</sup> The numerals refer to the various readings, which will be found at the end of the work.

<sup>a</sup> *Of the provinces.*—cuiceab. This word literally means a fifth part, and is translated *Quintana* by O'Flaherty in his *Ogygia*, p. 24, but it came to denote a province in Ireland, from the fact that that kingdom was anciently divided into five great divisions. See Keating's *History of Ireland*, Haliday's edition, p. 128-145.

Now only four provinces are recognised, and still cúig cúigeab na h-Eireann is a common expression to denote all Ireland.

<sup>b</sup> *Magh Teamhrach.*—This should be, at Teamhair, as in the poem.

<sup>c</sup> *Left-hand-wise.*—tuairthbeal, i. e. *sinistrorsum*. See Toland's *Critical History of the Celtic Religion*, p. 143, where

## THE RESTRICTIONS AND PREROGATIVES OF THE KINGS OF EIRE.

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THE restrictions and prohibitions of the king of Eire (Ireland), and of the kings of the provinces<sup>a</sup> down here.

Seven are the "urgharta" (prohibitions) of the king of Eire, i.e.:

The sun to rise upon him on his bed in Magh Teamhrach<sup>b</sup>; to alight on Wednesday in Magh Breagh; to traverse Magh Cuillinn after sunset; to incite his horse at Fan-chomair; to go on Tuesday against north Teabhtha (Teffia); to go in a ship upon the water the Monday after Bealltaine (May-day); [to leave] the track of his army upon Ath Maighne the Tuesday after Samhain (All-Hallows).

His seven "buadha" (prerogatives):

The fish of the Boinn (Boyne) to eat; the deer of Luibneach; the fruit of Manann (Mann); the heath-fruit of Brigh Leithe; the cresses of the Brosnach; the water of the well of Tlachtgha; the venison of Nas (Naas). On the calends of August all these things reached the king of Teamhair (Tara). The year in which he used to eat of these was not reckoned as life spent, and he was wont to rout his enemies before him on every side.

The five prohibitions of the king of Laighin (Leinster) here, viz.:

To go round Tuath Laighean left-hand-wise<sup>c</sup> on Wednesday; to sleep

he writes: "This sanctified tour, or round, by the south, is called *Deiseal*, as the unhallowed contrary one by the north, *Tuapholl* (sinistrorsum)." See also Martin's Description of the Western Islands of Scot-

land, p. 20. In the *Leabhar Breac*, fol. 126, the word *tuathbhel* is used as follows:

"Uair is riap boi aigeo Críte  
in a cpoich .i. riap in caipag

## Seapa agus buatha

iar Doehra 7 Duibhlinn 7 a cheano fop a leach bragaib; fopbaip nae epath fop muigib Cualano; imthecht Luain ear bealach n-Duibhlinn; each palach feipeas<sup>15</sup> dub fai ear Mag Maip-tean.

Ataer a asa imorro:

Meap Almaine; fiaó Glind Seapraig; ol<sup>16</sup> fpi coinleib ciaptha i n-Dino-Rig of Seapba; cuipm Chualano; cluich Capman.

Coic upgarra níg Muman:

Aippeche nia feip<sup>14</sup> Zaáa Lein vo chathim on Luain co poili; feip aóchi foillec Fogamair nia n-Feim il-Leipechaib; fopbaip nae epath<sup>15</sup> fop Siuir; dal choicpichair im Gabran; opnaó ban Muigí Fémín ga n-doehraib vo epaéat vo<sup>16</sup>.

A éic buaó .i.

Croó Cpuachnai la gairm chuach; lopeaó Lergean chuachga-bair; coigeabal chepta corgar i Cairil<sup>17</sup>; imtheacht Sleibí Cua caeca<sup>18</sup> iar ríó vercept Epeno; teaé co fluag lechobar dia Maip ear Mag n-Ailbe.

Coic upgarra níg choicib n-Oilneagmac<sup>19</sup> anoro .i.

Cop im<sup>20</sup> Chpuachain [iar ríóáin] dia Samna; teaé a m-brut bpic fop eoch glar bpic i ppaech Luchaib i n-Dal Chair; teaé i m-bannóil a Seagair; ruióí Fogamuip i peapcamb<sup>21</sup> mna Maine; comlueth<sup>22</sup> nia mapcach eich leith leathguill in n-Ath Gallca<sup>23</sup> iar ba chleith.

A choic buaó .i.

Allaó<sup>24</sup> giall [a topaé] a h-Oipbrean; realg Sleibí Loga; lath-airc<sup>25</sup> chopma tee i Muig Muipice; eiuo vaipbpi ópeici dia brut iar puathar na Tpi Rop; dal choicpichair fpi tuathaib Team-pach ic Ath Luain<sup>26</sup>; macan Ceatfamain i Maenmaig aé na ra veicci fop Darraig<sup>27</sup>.

Jerusalem, 7 ip fair boi aigeo Longim 7 in ni po pu tuathbel doipm ip feó on po bo depp vo Cpuic, i. e. For it is westwards Christ's face was [turned] on his cross, i. e., towards the city of Jerusalem; and it is eastwards Longinus's face was [turned], and what was tuathbel [*sinistrorsum*]

to him was depp [*destrorsum*], to Christ."

<sup>d</sup> Geim.—A part of the year among the ancient Irish, comprising seven months. See the Introduction.

<sup>e</sup> Lent, corgar.—This, like the French *carême*, anciently *caresme*, seems an abbreviation of *Quadragesima*, as is *cincigér*, Whitsuntide, of *Quinquagesima*. It is



between the Dothair (Dodder) and the Duibhlinn, with his head inclining to one side; to encamp for nine days on the plains of Cualann; to travel the road of Duibhlinn on Monday; to ride on a dirty, black-heeled horse across Magh Maistean.

These are his "adha" (prerogatives), viz.:

The fruit of Almhain; the deer of Gleann Searraigh; to drink with wax candles at Dinn Ríogh over the Bearbha (Barrow); the ale of Cualann; the games of Carman.

The five prohibitions of the king of Mumha (Munster):

To remain to enjoy the feast of Loch Lein from one Monday to another; to feast by night in the beginning of harvest, before Geim<sup>d</sup>, at Leitreacha; to encamp for nine days upon the Siuir; to hold a border meeting at Gabhran; to listen to the groans of the women of Magh Feimhin when suffering violation.

His five prerogatives, i. e.:

The cattle of Cruachan at the singing of the cuckoo; to burn north Laighin (Leinster); to keep the obligation of Lent<sup>e</sup> at Caiseal (Cashel); to pass over Sliabh Cua with [a band of] fifty after pacifying the south of Eire; to go with a greyish host on Tuesday over Magh Ailbhe.

The five prohibitions of the king of the province of Oilneagmacht<sup>f</sup> (Connaught) here:

To make a treaty respecting Cruachan after making peace on Samhain's day; to go in a speckled garment on a grey speckled steed to the heath of Luchaid in Dal Chais; to go to an assembly of women at Seaghais; to sit in Autumn on the sepulchral mounds of the wife of Maine; to contend in running with the rider of a grey one-eyed horse at Ath Gallta, between two posts.

His five prerogatives, i. e.:

To take hostages first from Oirbsean; the chase of Sliabh Luga; to drink hot ale in Magh Muirisce; the clothing of the oak of Breice with his cloak after a rout through the Tri Rosa; a border meeting at Ath Luain (Athlone) with the tribes of Teamhair; to be on Maen-mhagh on May morning, but so as that he goes not over upon Dar-mhagh.

also written *carḡar*, which is not unlike the French *Cares-me*. See Cormac's Glossary, *voce* Cincigēp.

<sup>f</sup> *Oilneagmacht* was the old name of the

province of Connacht, possibly the *Nag-natæ* of Ptolemæus. See O'Connor, *Disser.* sec. xiii.; Book of Leacan, fol. 221; *Tighearnach*, ad A. D. 33.

Coic upgarra níg Ulao .i.

Eachpar Raá Zine ior ogaib Dal n-Araíde; ecreaé pe lua-  
main engiall<sup>28</sup> Zinoi Saileach iar fuinead n-gneni<sup>29</sup>; corouó feiri  
for feoil tairb Daipi mic Daipi<sup>30</sup>; teaé<sup>31</sup> a mór Marra i Muig  
Choba; uirce do Nemio do ol ior ba doirchi.

A choic buaoa .i.

Cluichi Cuailnge fpi epod m-barc; maipi [a fluaig] for Maig  
Muirchemne; eiopeaoal a fluaigib do gpear a h-Eamain Maichi;  
pappach<sup>32</sup> giall co Dun Sobairci; h-uathar<sup>33</sup> Eamna Maici .i. per  
fuipri co n-idnu na teopa ceat aóchi pia n-bul tar coirich. Luag  
a fuigi in n-Uirneach cach reachemoo bliadán 7 ap eurbail a  
inab: 7 ip cuma olegar de cach coicead i n-Epino. Ro oligread-  
rom din do níg Teampach fep Teampach do deanaí iappin, no  
bió reache níg Teampach for Epino uili 7 ip ano no cheandairgior  
nig na coicead a fuioi a n-Uirneach; ba pi in chain 7 in ceandach  
pin .i. buioi inab no bió ina laim cacha platha ino Epino o'or  
dearg nor facdaó pin ina inab ola: ap in tan no choimlibir na níg  
pin fep Teampach no gleoir dala Epino co ceann reache m-bliadán  
cona fuiglibir fiaá na feitheamhara na coicearta co pin feip n-ailli  
iar reache m-bliadónaib. Ip deim in epa do nígáib Epeno dia reach-  
mallbair a n-geara 7 dia facbair a m-buaoa ni biaó tuipel na  
turbpoo foráib ni thicpab teiom na tamleacá na plath 7 ni buio-  
bair upchra aimpri pe nochao bliadán<sup>34</sup>. Ni olig din cuairt no  
ceandairgeaé in fili no in pai peanchaó nach fiarapa aó 7 upg-  
arta na níg ro.

<sup>28</sup> *To pay for his seat at Uisneach.*—This name is retained to the present day, which is that of a hill, now usually anglicized Usny hill, or Usnagh hill, parish of Killare, barony of Rathconrath, Westmeath. According to Keating, Tuathal Teachtmhar, monarch of Ireland, in the first century, enlarged the boundaries of the ancient Midhe (Meath), by cutting off a portion of each of the provinces, and erecting a royal palace on each. According to him, King Tuathal erected a palace, and established fairs or public marts at Uisneach, in the Connacht portion of Meath, which

were celebrated annually on the first of May. See Keating's account of Uisneach, where it is added (in the words of the translation by Gratianus Lucius) "Census autem, qui Regi Conacis (ut cujus imperio quondam Usnacha subjecta fuit) ex his nundinis provenerat, fuit, ut singuli dynastae qui ad nundinas acccessissent, ad eum equum eum paludamentis [eac 7 eappab] conferret." See also O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 56, and the Ordnance map of the parish of Killare, on which the ancient remains of the hill of Uisneach are shewn. For ma, *qu. recte* 'ma laim.

The five prohibitions of the king of Uladh (Ulster), i. e.:

The horse-fair of Rath Line, among the youths of Dal Araíde; to listen to the fluttering of the flocks of birds of Linn Saileach after sunset; to celebrate the feast of the flesh of the bull of Daire-mic-Daire; to go into Magh Cóbha in the month of March; to drink of the water of Bo Neimhidh between two darknesses.

His five prerogatives, i. e.:

The games of Cuailgne with the assembly of the fleet; the mustering of his army on the plain of Muirtheimhne; to commence his hosting always from Eamhain Macha; to send his hostages to Dun Sobhairce; "The terror of Eamhain Macha," i. e. to feast there for three nights armed before passing over the border. To pay for his seat at Uisneach<sup>s</sup> every seventh year on taking his place, and this is also the right of every provincial king in Eire. After this these required of the king of Teamhair to make the feast of Teamhair<sup>h</sup>; the kings of the provinces used to purchase their seats at Uisneach, and the purchase and price they paid was this, i. e. the "hero's ring" of red gold which each prince wore on his hand, which he used to leave in his drinking seat; for when these kings had eaten of the feast of Teamhair, the assemblies of Eire were dissolved for seven years, so that they pronounced no decision on debts, debtors, or disputes, till the next feast, after [the expiration of] seven years. It is certain to the kings of Eire that if they avoid their "geasa" (restrictions), and obtain their "buadha" (prerogatives), they shall meet no mischance or misfortune; no epidemic or mortality shall occur in their reigns, and they shall not experience the decay of age for the space of ninety years. The poet or the learned historian who does not know the "adha" (prerogatives), and "urgharta" (prohibitions) of these kings, is not entitled to visitation or to sale<sup>i</sup> [for his poetry].

<sup>h</sup> *The feast of Tara.*—*Feis Teamhrach*. This is translated "comitia Temorensia," by Colgan, Lynch, O'Flaherty, and others, but it is more truly rendered "*cena Tamrech*," by Tighernach, and the original compiler of the Annals of Ulster. All the modern writers of the history of Ireland assert that the *Feis Teamhrach* was celebrated every third year, but this

does not appear to be borne out by any of the old Lives of St. Patrick, the authentic Irish annals, or the older manuscript accounts of Tara. See Petrie's History and Antiquities of Tara Hill, pp. 58, 59. See also Keating's account of the *Feis Teamhrach*, as established by the monarch Tuathal Teachtmhar.

<sup>i</sup> *Sale, ceannairgeadóir*, literally, traffic.

## Ḑeara agur buaðha

De quibur Cuan Ua Leochan, in ran, cecinit.

A fíir an iadár in t-each,  
ir me in t-O Leochan<sup>u</sup> laideach;  
nom leic reachab ir teach teano  
a fuil aiporíḡ na h-Éireano.

Ar acum fo gebethar do  
eolur—na ba h-imarḡo—  
a reache n-aða imab m-boríḡ,  
la reache n-urḡarḡa aiporíḡ.

Legthar reache m-buaða—cia beab?  
do ríḡ Teatirach; oia coirreac  
bíð coirtheach do in calainn éir,  
bíð eath-buaðach caingen-ḡlic.

H- Calainn Auguirḡ do'n ríḡ  
do roichoir do ar eath éir:  
meatirab Manann monar n-ḡle;  
acur fraechmeatir ḡríḡ Leichí;

Mílrab Nairí<sup>u</sup>; iarc ḡoinn;  
bírar ḡorḡaibí baibí;

It alludes to the privilege which every true poet enjoyed of selling his own compositions. For a very curious reference to this custom see the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, published by Colgan, lib. iii. c. 21, where it is stated that Dubhthach, chief poet of Leinster, had sent his disciple Flach to present some poems of his composition to the princes of that province.

<sup>u</sup> *Cuan O'Lochan*.—See the introduction.

<sup>i</sup> *Who closest the house*.—He addresses the door-keeper of king Maelseachlainn (Malachy) II., at his palace of Dun na sgiath (fort of the shields), near the north-west margin of Loch Aininn (Lough Ennel, near Mullingar, Westmeath).

<sup>u</sup> *It will be no fiction*, na ba h-imarḡo, which has not been fabricated by me, but which has been handed down to me as tested by the experience of ages.

<sup>n</sup> *The ready earth shall be fruitful*.—It was the belief among the ancient Irish, that when their kings acted in conformity with the institutions of their ancestors, the seasons were favourable, and that the earth yielded its fruit in abundance; but when they violated these laws, that plague, famine, and inclemency of weather were the result. See *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 100–103.

<sup>o</sup> *Manann*.—This is the present Irish name of the Isle of Mann, which seems to have anciently belonged to the monarch

Concerning which things Cuan O'Lochan\* the sage, thus sang:

O noble man who closest the house<sup>l</sup>,  
I am the O'Lochan of the poems,  
Let me pass by thee into the powerful house,  
In which is the monarch of Eire.

With me will be found for him  
The knowledge—it will be no fiction<sup>m</sup>—  
Of his seven prerogatives of many virtues,  
With the seven prohibitions of a monarch.

Let the seven prerogatives be read—what harm?  
For the king of Teamhair; if he observe them  
The ready earth shall be fruitful<sup>a</sup> for him,  
He shall be victorious in battle, wise of counsel.

On the calends of August, to the king  
Were brought from each respective district,  
The fruits of Manann<sup>o</sup>, a fine present;  
And the heath-fruit of Brigh Leithe<sup>p</sup>;

The venison of Nas<sup>q</sup>; the fish of the Boinn<sup>r</sup>;  
The cresses of the kindly Brosnach<sup>s</sup>;

of Ireland; but there were many places in Ireland so called, so that it is not absolutely certain that it is the Isle of Mann that is here referred to.

<sup>p</sup> *Brigh Leithe*.—This was the ancient name of Sliabh Calraighe (Slieve Golry), situated to the west of the village of Ardachadh (Ardagh, in Longford), as we learn from the Life of Bishop Mael, (Mel) 6 Feb. where it is stated that Bri Leith is situated between Mael's church of Ardachadh, and the nunnery of Druimcheo, the former lying on the east, and the latter on the west side of it. Colgan, Acta SS. Hib. 261. col. 2. cap. ix., *sub fine*. Possibly the fruit of the heath, *ppaećmeap*, here referred to, is what we now call *ppaeć-*

*áin* or *ppaećóga*, not the berries of the heath, but bilberries or whortleberries. Some of the old Irish suppose that this, and not the *heath*, is the shrub from which the Danes brewed a kind of beer.

<sup>q</sup> *Naas*, in Kildare, where the kings of Leinster had a residence till the tenth century, the site of which is still pointed out.

<sup>r</sup> *Boyne*.—This well-known river has its source in Trinity well, at the foot of a hill anciently called Sidh Neachtain, Bar. Carbury, Kildare. It was the chief river of the Irish monarch's territory of Meath, and was always celebrated for its salmon.

<sup>s</sup> *Brosna*, a well-known river which rises at Bunbrosna, Westmeath, and passes through Loch Uair (Owel), Loch Aininn

## Ḑeapa agur duadha

uirí eobair Ṫlacṫa de<sup>7</sup>;  
acur riab luat Luibnide.

Legthar reachte n-geir—ní gab,  
do níḡ Teampach; dia coirreab  
do fairí pilleab<sup>8</sup> caṫa  
acur adgall aporatha<sup>9</sup>:

Slichte pluaz in Maire iar Samain  
oar Aṫ Maizne dearmagair;  
bpuineach ap beathra bpoine  
ir in Luan iar m-Belltaine;

Maire ior, ní olíḡ flairh feire,  
i Teathra<sup>10</sup> tuat ḡuirm chuairceit;  
imtheact iar fuinneab n-geiri  
Muirí Callainb<sup>11</sup> cpuarb flebe

Taipplim Ceataine—ní ceal,  
ní búr do for opuimnib ḡreag;

(Ennell), to the Shannon, a short distance to the north of the town of Banagher.

<sup>7</sup> *Tlachtgha*.—This was the ancient name of the hill now called the Hill of Ward, which is situated near the town of Athboy, Meath. According to a vellum MS. preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 3, 17, p. 782, the hill of Tlachtgha is situated in that part of ancient Meath which originally belonged to Munster, and in the territory of Uí Laeghaire, which, since the establishment of surnames was the patrimonial inheritance of the family of the O'Cainnealbhains, now Quinlans, the descendants of Laeghaire, the last Pagan monarch of Ireland. There is a remarkable earthen fort on the hill, said to have been originally erected by the monarch Tuathal Teachtmhar, towards the middle of the second century, where the

Druids lighted their sacred fires on the eve of Samhain (All-Hallows). The well referred to in the text is at the foot of the hill, but not now remarkable for any sacred characteristics.

<sup>8</sup> *Luibneach*.—This name is now obsolete. It was applied to a place on the borders of ancient Meath and Munster. See the Book of Leacan, fol. 260, b.

<sup>9</sup> *Samhain*.—This is still the name for All-hallow tide, or 1st of November. It is explained by O'Clery as compounded of *sam*-*fuim*, i. e. the end of Summer.

<sup>10</sup> *Ath Maighne*.—This was the ancient name of a ford on the river Eithne (Inny), parish of Mayna, Bar. Fore, Westmeath, a short distance to the west of the town of Castlepollard. It is mentioned in the Annotations of Tirechan in the Book of Armagh, as on the boundary between north

The water of the well of Tlachtgha' too;  
And the swift deer of Luibneach\*.

Let his seven restrictions be read,—no reproach,  
To the king of Teamhair; if he observe them  
It will guard against treachery in battle,  
And the pollution of his high attributes.

The track of an army, on the Tuesday after Samhain†,  
Across Ath Maighne‡, of fair salmon;—  
To put ship on the water of the ships  
On the Monday after Bealltaine;

On Tuesday a true king ought not at all to go  
Into the dark country of north Teabhtha‡;  
Or traverse, after the setting of the sun,  
Magh Callainn‡ of the hard mountain;

To alight on Wednesday—I will not conceal it—  
It is not lawful for him, on the hills of Breagh‡;

and south Teffia.

\* *North Teabhtha*.—In the fifth century this name was applied to the region extending from the river Eithne (Inny) to Sliabh Chairbre, a wild blue mountainous district on the northern boundary of the present county of Longford; in later ages this territory was usually called Anghaile (Annaly). The apparent reason that the monarch was prohibited from entering this territory was, because Cairbre, the brother of the monarch Laeghaire, and this his territory of North Teffia, were cursed [on Tuesday] by St. Patrick.

† In the prose it is called Magh Cuilinn. This would be anglicized Moycullen. It is difficult to decide what plain this was, as there is more than one place of the name in Ireland.

‡ *Breagh*.—This is usually called Magh

(the plain of) Breagh, and Latinized *Bregia*. It was the name of a plain in the eastern part of the ancient Meath, comprising, according to Keating and others, five triocha-cheds or baronies. In latter ages, as appears from the places mentioned as in this plain, it would seem that it was the country lying between Dublin and Drogheda, or between the river Liffey and the Boyne, but its exact boundaries are not defined in any of our authorities. Mageoghegan states, in his translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, at the year 778, that Moy Brey extended from Dublin to Bealach Breck, west of Kells, and from the hill of Howth to the mountain of Slieve Fuaid in Ulster. *Druimni Breagh*, which means *dorsa Bregia*, would appear to be the name of a hilly part of this territory. In Mac Firlisigh's Genealogical work (*Marquis of*

## Geara agur buatha

grian fair d'ergí : Teamair choir;  
plaíde a each<sup>a</sup> : Fan-chomair.

Cuan h-Ua Leochan co l<sup>a</sup>  
Laignin co[*a*]n<sup>i</sup> maó dia n<sup>i</sup>,  
ní chelra<sup>a</sup> fair a aóa  
naio a geara gorm-glana :

Gear do cuairt, nia n-bul for ceal,  
for tuat Laignean for tuat-bel;  
ger do collaó claine cno  
teir Doera acur Duiblinn;

Gear do forbair—peagthar anó,  
nae trath for muigib Cualand;

Drogheda's copy), p. 172, Rath ochtair Cuilinn is placed : n-Oruimnib d'neag.

<sup>a</sup> *The sun to rise upon him.*—This gear, or forbidden thing, is not unlike the solemn injunction laid by Mahomet on his successors, that they should be at prayer before the rising of the sun.

<sup>b</sup> *Comar.*—There are countless places of this name in Ireland, which means the confluence of rivers. Perhaps the place here alluded to is the place called Comar near Clonard, in the south-west of the county of East Meath. Fan-chomair is the slope or declivity of the Comar.

<sup>c</sup> *Before going to heaven*, i. e. while alive in this world. This expression is often used in old Irish writings, as is also gur cian co tiar an ceal, which means, *serus in calum redeas*, or mayest thou live long, an expression evidently translated by the Irish from the classical writers. See Horat. Lib. i. Od. ii., Ovid. lib. xv. lin. 868, *Tarda sit illa dies*, &c., and Cormac's Glossary, *voce* Ceal.

<sup>d</sup> *Tuath Laighean*, the north of Laignin or Leinster.

<sup>e</sup> *Left-hand-wise.*—In *Leabhar na h-*

*Uidhri*, folio 59 (now folio 40), *a. a.*, tuaitib<sup>il</sup> is used to denote northward, or to the left; north and left are synonymous in Irish. See above, p. 2, note <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> *Dothair* (fem.) *Dothra.*—This is the ancient Irish form of the name of the river Dodder, in the county of Dublin. The church of Achadh Finiche is described in the *Feilire Enguis*, at 11th of May, and in the Irish calendar of the O'Clerys, as on the brink of the Dothair, in the territory of Ui Dunchadha, in Leinster—*for bpu Doera : n-Uib Dunchadha*.

<sup>g</sup> *Duibhlinn.*—This was the ancient name of that part of the river Life (Liffey) on which the city of Dublin stands. It is explained *nigra therma* by the author of the Life of St. Coemhghin (Kevin); so, Colgan, "*Pars enim Liffey fluminis, in cuius ripa est ipsa civitas, Hibernis olim vocabatur Dubh-linn, i. e. nigricans alveus sive profundus alveus.*"—*Trias Thaum.*, p. 112, n. 71. The city was and is called Ath Cliath, Ath Cliath Duibhlinne, and Baile Atha Cliath, a name shortened into Blea Cliath. The above prohibition may have owed its origin to the fact of some king



The sun to rise upon him east at Teamhair<sup>a</sup>  
Or to incite his horse at Fan-chomair<sup>b</sup>.

Cuan O'Lochan am I, of fame.

Should I reach the king of Laighin,  
I shall not conceal from him his prerogatives,  
Nor his clearly-defined prohibitions.

'Tis prohibited to him to go round, before going to heaven<sup>c</sup>,  
Over north Laighin<sup>d</sup>, left-hand-wise<sup>e</sup>;  
'Tis prohibited to him to sleep with head inclined  
Between the Dothair<sup>f</sup> and the Duibhlinn<sup>g</sup>;

It is prohibited to him to encamp, let it be minded,  
For nine days on the plains of Cualann<sup>h</sup>;

of Leinster having been found dead in his bed in the district, with his neck crooked.

<sup>b</sup> *Cualann*.—The situation and extent of this territory have been strangely mistaken by modern Irish writers. But we have evidences which will leave no doubt as to its exact situation, for in the *Feilire Énguis* the churches of Tigh Conaill, Tigh mic Dimmal, and Dun mor, are placed in Cualann. And in an inquisition taken at Wicklow on the 21st of April, 1686, the limits of Fercoulen, i. e. Fearsa Cualann, are defined as follows:

“The said Tirlagh O'Toole humbly desireth of his Majestie to have a certain territory of land called Fercoulen, which his ancestors had till they were expelled by the earls of Kildare. That the said territory containeth in length from Barneccullen, by east and south, and Glassyn[...]kie to Pollicallon by west the wind gates, viz., five miles in length and four in breadth, being the more part mountaines, woods, and rocks, and the other parte good fertile lands. Within the said territory were certain villages and craggs [*recte* creaghts] of old tyme, being

now all desolate excepte onely Powerscourt, Killcollin, Beanaghebegge, Benaghmor, the Onenaghe, Ballycortie, Templeregan, Kiltagarrane, Cokiston, Ancrewyn, Killmollinky, Ballynbrowne, Killeger, and the Mainster.”

From this description of the territory of the Fearsa Cualann it is quite evident that it was then considered as coextensive with the half barony of Rathdown, in the north of the county of Wicklow, and adjoining the county of Dublin. Harris, in his edition of Ware's work, vol. ii. p. 48, places this territory several miles out of its proper locality, for he describes it as “a territory in the east and maritime part of the county of Wicklow, comprehending the north parts of the barony of Arcklow, and the south of the barony of Newcastle.” But Ussher, in whose time the name was still in use, places the river of Bray and Old Court in Crich Cualann [*Primordia*, p. 846], in which it will be observed that he is perfectly borne out by the petition set forth in the inquisition above quoted, which was taken about the same time that he was writing his *Primordia*.

## Seapra agus buaítha

geir do dul re fluag malle  
Luam tar delach n-Duibhlinn;

Geir do ar Muir Mairtean damud<sup>1</sup>  
pai each salaic seircead<sup>2</sup> duib:  
ateat rin—ní venand sean,  
coic ungarra níg Laigean<sup>3</sup>.

Laech ga fuilead cuic aóa  
níg Laigean liy Labraída:  
meap Almáine do 'ga thig;  
acur fiaó Dlinn Searraigh<sup>4</sup>.

Ol fpi coimleib ciarpea caid  
a n-[D]ino-Rig do'n níg no gnaith,  
flan epaith epiaith tuamano dinorain;  
cuipm Chualann; cluichí Capmuin.

Caipriul na níg paen in paith  
ateat cuic buaída dia flait:

<sup>1</sup> *Bealach Duibhlinne*.—The road or pass of the Duibhlinn. See p. 12, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *The plain of Maistin*, i. e. the plain around the hill of Maistin, or, as it is generally called, Mullaghmast, parish of Naraghmore, and about five miles east of the town of Athy, in Kildare. For some curious notices of events which occurred at this place, the reader is referred to Keating's History of Ireland, reigns of Cormac Mac Art, and Brian Borumha; Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1577, and Philip O'Sullivan Beare's History of the Irish Catholics, fol. 86.

<sup>3</sup> *The fort of Labhraidh*, i. e. of Labhraidh Loingseach, monarch of Ireland of the Lagenian race, A. M., 8682, for some stories about whom the reader is referred to Keating's History of Ireland, and O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 39. His fort

was Dinn Riogh, *vide infra*, note 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Almhain* (Allen), a celebrated hill in the county of Kildare, situated about five miles to the north of the town of Kildare.

<sup>5</sup> *Gleann Searraigh*, i. e. the glen of the foal. The situation of this glen is unknown to the Editor.

<sup>6</sup> *Wax candles*.—This is a curious reference, as it would appear that the kings of Leinster did not reside at Dinn Riogh since the period of the introduction of Christianity.

<sup>7</sup> *Dinn Riogh*, i. e. the hill of the kings. This is the most ancient palace of the kings of Leinster. Keating describes Dinn Riogh as "ar bpuac Seapra ior Cheac-aplac 7 Leiglinn, do'n leir eiaip do'n Dheapra, i. e. on the brink of the Barrow, between Carlow and Leighlin, on the west side of the Barrow;" Keating's

'Tis prohibited to him to go with a host  
On Monday over the Bealach Duibhlinne<sup>i</sup>;

It is prohibited to him on Magh Maistean<sup>l</sup>, on any account,  
To ride on a dirty, black-heeled horse;  
These are—he shall not do them—  
The five things prohibited to the king of Laighin.

A hero who possesses five prerogatives,  
Is the king of Laighin of the fort of Labhraidh<sup>k</sup>:  
The fruit of Almhain<sup>l</sup> [to be brought] to him to his house;  
And the deer of Gleann Searraigh<sup>m</sup>;

To drink by [the light of] fair wax candles<sup>n</sup>  
At Din Riogh<sup>o</sup> is very customary to the king,  
Safe too is the chief of Tuaim in that [custom];  
The ale of Cualann<sup>p</sup>; the games of Carman<sup>q</sup>.

Caiseal of the kings, of great prosperity,  
Its prince has five prerogatives:

Hist. Ireland, Haliday's edition, preface, p. 42. This place is still well known. It is situated in the townland of Ballyknockan about a quarter of a mile to the south of Leighlin Bridge, to the west of the River Barrow. Nothing remains of the palace but a moat, measuring two hundred and thirty-seven yards in circumference at the base, sixty-nine feet in height from the level of the river Barrow, and one hundred and thirty-five feet in diameter at the top, where it presents a level surface, on which the king of Leinster's royal house evidently stood.

In a fragment of the Annals of Tighernach preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Rawlinson, 502, fol. 1. b. col. 1. the following passage occurs relative to the burning of this palace:

“Cobéach Coelbreg mac Ugaine moip oo lorcuib co epichat

riog imme i n-Dinriog Maige Ailbe hi bhuuin Tuama Teanbach rampuib, la Labraidh Loingsech .i. Moen mac Ailella Aine mic Coegairé Luirc mic Ugaine moip i n-oirgail a aetap q a penaetap po marb Cobéach Coel. Cocab ó rein eirip Laigiu q leé Cuino.”

“Cobhthach Caelbreagh, the son of Ugaine Mor, was burned together with thirty kings about him at Dinn Riogh of Magh Ailbhe, in the palace of Tuaim Teanbath, by Labhraidh Loingseach, i. e. Maen, the son of Aileall Aine, son of Laeghaire Lorc, son of Ugaine Mor, in revenge of his father and grandfather, whom Cobhthach Cael had slain. A war arose from this between Leinster and Leath Chuinn.”

<sup>p</sup> Cualann.—See p. 13, note <sup>h</sup>, *supra*.

<sup>q</sup> Carman.—This was the name of the

## Ḑeapa agur buadha

cpoð Ḑruachna cui co congair;  
lorcað ʒaig̃in tuathgabair;

Caeca tap Sliab̃ Cua na ceano  
iar rithchain decepte Ereno;  
imtheact maig̃i—maith in moð,  
Ailbe ne pluag̃ leathobair;

ʒeabaig̃ i Cairiul iar r̃eir  
co ceano caecairi ar m̃ir<sup>as</sup>  
cacha bliad̃na for—na ceil,  
aiað buaða ñig Cairil.

Rig Cairil,—ir cpas dia cheill  
airpeacht ne r̃er ʒaða ʒein—  
o'n ʒuan co roil̃i a cethim—  
ir topac̃ dia tiug̃lathib̃<sup>as</sup>:

Ḑeir do aib̃chi foile ñia n-Ḑeim  
foḡamair il-ʒeipeachaid̃;  
forbair nae cpach for siuir ruain;  
oal choicpichair im Ḑabpuain;

site now occupied by the town of Wexford. It appears from the Irish work called *Dinn Seanchus*, that the kings of Leinster celebrated fairs, games, and sports at this place from a very early period.

<sup>a</sup> *The cattle of Cruachan*.—This obviously means that it would be a lucky or success-insuring thing for the king of Caiseal to plunder the plain of Rath Cruachan, and carry off the cattle of the king of Connacht within the period during which the cuckoo sings. The Editor has not met anything to throw any light on the origin of this extraordinary injunction.

<sup>b</sup> *The northern Leinster*, i. e. Wicklow, Kildare, south Dublin, &c., and part of the King's County. Meath, north Dublin, &c. were not considered part of Leinster at this period.

<sup>c</sup> *Sliabh Cua*.—This was the ancient name of the mountain now called *Cnoc Maeldomhnaigh*, situated to the south of Clonmel in the county of Waterford. The name is still preserved, but pronounced *Sliabh Gua*, and now popularly applied to a district in the parish of Seakinan, in the barony of Decies without Drum, lying between Dungarvan and Clonmel.

<sup>d</sup> *The plain of Ailbe, Maig̃ Ailbe*. This was the name of an extensive plain in Leinster, extending from the river Barrow and *Sliabh Mairge*, to the foot of the Wicklow mountains. From the places mentioned in the Irish authorities as situated in this plain, it is quite evident that it comprised the northern part of the barony of Idrone, in the county of Carlow, and the baronies of Kilkea and Moone, in the county of Kil-

The cattle of Cruachan\*, when the cuckoo sings;  
The burning of northern Laighin\*;

By fifty attended o'er Sliabh Cua† to pass  
After the pacification of the south of Eire;  
To cross the plain, in goodly mode,  
Of Ailbhe‡, with a light-grey host;

A bed in Caiseal§, after fatigue  
To the end of a fortnight and a month  
Each year, moreover,—do not conceal it,  
Such are the prerogatives of the king of Caiseal.

The king of Caiseal—it will embitter his feeling  
To wait for the feast of Loch Lein¶—  
To stay from one Monday to another to enjoy it—  
It is the beginning of his last days;

'Tis prohibited to him [to pass] a night in beginning of harvest  
Before Geim\* at Leitreach‡;  
To encamp for nine days on the silent Siuir‡;  
To hold a border meeting at Gabhran‡;

dare. The situation of this plain is thus described by Ussher: "Campus ad ripam fluvii quem Ptolemeus Birgum, nos Barrow vocamus, non procul a monte Margeo positus."—*Primordia*, pp. 986, 987. The author of the Irish poem called *Laoi na Leacht*, describing the monuments of Leinster, asks exultingly, "Where is there in any province of Ireland a plain like Magh Ailbhe?"

† *A bed at Cashel*, i. e. wherever the king of Munster may have his palace, it is absolutely necessary to his prosperity and good luck, that he should sleep at Cashel for six weeks every year.

¶ *Loch Lein*.—This is still the name of the Lake of Killarney, in the county of Kerry.

\* *Geim*, see p. 4, note d.

‡ *Latteragh* is a parish in Lower Ormond, Tipperary.

§ *Suir*.—This celebrated river, which has its source in Sliabh Ailduin, (the Devil's Bit mountain,) in the county of Tipperary, unites with the Barrow and the sea about one mile below Waterford.

¶ *Gabhran* (Gowran), in Kilkenny.—According to Keating, the territory of Ormond extended as far as this place, but this cannot be considered as its boundary for the last thousand years, for then the greater part of Ossory would belong to Munster; but this we cannot believe on the authority of Keating, as Ossory is described in the oldest Lives of St. Patrick as the western portion of Leinster, "Occidentalis Laginensium plaga." See Ussher's *Primordia*, pp. 865, 969. But it would appear

## Ḑeara agur buaḏa

Iʀ ʒer do cloirteache iar rin  
 ppi h-ormadag ban Feimín  
 ica n-ochraibí na m-ban:  
 isiao ʒerí níg Muínan.

Mapaiso rumb—ní ruail in rmache,  
 buaḏa iʀ ʒeara níg Conbache:  
 níg Conbache—cia nach cuala?  
 ní bílí cean bích buaḏa.

Ḑuaib ḏa buaḏaib ne<sup>so</sup> each m-buaib,  
 allas<sup>si</sup> ʒiall a h-Oirbrym fuaip;  
 realʒ Sleb, Loʒa male;  
 lachapre chopma i Muig Muirpre;

Maith do ruathar na Tpi Rop  
 oʒacbaíl a bpuir ac Ḑearnorp  
 im baipbri m-Ḑre m-buaḏach  
 iʀ in tuairceapre tʒiean ḏpuasac;

Ḑal choirpichaʒ im Aeh Luain  
 ppi tuathaib Teampach tuath chlucain;

that the kings of Munster claimed jurisdiction over Ossory as far as Gowran, while the Ossorians, on the other hand, in right of the conquest of Magh Feimhin, made by their ancestor Áengus Osraigheach, contended that their country of Osraighe should comprise all the lands extending from the river Siuir to the Bearbha, and from the mountains of Sliabh Bladhma to the meeting of the Three Waters, in Waterford harbour. But this claim was never established; for the territory does not appear to have comprised more than the present diocese of Ossory since the time of St. Patrick. See Keating, reign of Cormac Mac Airt.

<sup>b</sup> *Feimhin*, more generally called Magh-Feimhin, was the ancient name of a plain

comprising that portion of the present county of Tipperary which belongs to the diocese of Lismore. It is described as extending from the river Siuir northwards to Corca Eathrach, otherwise called Machaire Chaisil, from which it is evident that it comprised the whole of the barony of Iffa and Offa east. See Colgan's *Trias Thaum.* p. 201; Keating's *History of Ireland*, reign of Cormac Mac Airt; and Lanigan's *Eccles. History of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 282.

<sup>c</sup> *Oirbsean*, i. e., to take the hostages of the Uí Briuin Seola, and other tribes seated around Loch Oirbsean (Lough Corrib in the county of Galway).

<sup>d</sup> *Sliabh Logha*, more usually called Sliabh Lugha, a well-known mountainous territory in the county of Mayo, com-

'Tis prohibited to him, after this, to listen  
To the moans of the women of Feimhin<sup>b</sup>  
[Arising] from the violation of those women:  
Such are the prohibitions of the king of Mumha.

Here are—not trifling the regulation,  
The prerogatives and prohibitions of the king of Connacht:  
The king of Connacht, who has not heard of him?  
He is not a hero without perpetual prerogatives.

One of his prerogatives, which is before every prerogative,  
The taking of the hostages of the chilly Oirbsean<sup>c</sup>;  
The hunting of Sliabh Lugha<sup>d</sup> also;  
The drinking of the fresh ale of Magh Muirisce<sup>e</sup>;

Good for him the rout of the Tri Rosa<sup>f</sup>, [and]  
To leave his cloak at Bearnas<sup>g</sup>  
Around the victorious oak of Breice<sup>h</sup>  
In the strong, hardy north;

To hold a border meeting at Ath Luain<sup>i</sup>  
With the states of Teamhair of the grassy districts;

prising that part of the barony of Costello which belongs to the diocese of Achonry, viz., the parishes of Kilkelly, Kilmovee, Killeagh, Kilcolman, and Castlemore-Costello.

<sup>a</sup> *Muirisc*, i. e. *Sea plain*.—There is a narrow plain of this name situated between the mountain of Cruach Phadraig (Croaghpatrick) and Cuan Modh (Clew Bay), in the west of the county of Mayo. It also became the name of a small abbey situated in this plain, on the margin of the bay, from which the barony of Murriak received its name. This name was also applied to a district in the barony of Tir Fhliachrach (Tireragh) and county of Sligo, extending from the river Easkey to Dunnacoy, and comprising the townlands of Rosslee, Cloon-nagleavragh, Alternan, Dunaltan, Bally-

kilcash, Dunheakin, Dunneill, and Bally-eskeen. It is difficult to decide which of these plains is the one referred to in the text.

<sup>b</sup> *The three Rosses*.—It is difficult to decide what Rosses are here referred to, but the editor is of opinion that they are, either the district so called in the north, or that in the west of the county of Donegal.

<sup>c</sup> *Bearnas*.—This is evidently the remarkable gapped mountain called Barnismore, and locally Bearnas, in the barony of Tirhugh and county of Donegal.

<sup>d</sup> *The oak of Breice*.—The editor has discovered no other notice of this lucky tree.

<sup>e</sup> *Ath Luain* (Athlone), a ford on the Shannon, from which the town of Athlone has taken its name. The ford is on the boundary between Connaught and Meath.

## Ἰεῖρα ἀγυρ βυαδῖα

μαῖτεαν Ceiteamon ceat m-blað  
α Maen-mag, na πῖγ Dap-bað.

Ἀτατε υπῆγαρεα δο'η πῖγ  
Conbachte, coimeab aṭir<sup>1</sup>:  
cop im Chruachain dia Samna  
nī h-aða, aṭe ip eatarba ;

Imchur pe mapcach eich leith  
α n-Ath Ḥallea ιαρ βα chleith ;  
banbaal for Seaḡair co pe ;  
paṭi ; feartaib mna Maine ;

Α m-brut bpic nī eatarar leir  
α ppaech Luchate in n-Dail Chair :  
aṭate pin eap in cach ean  
cuic υπῆγαρεα πῖγ Cpuachan.

Cluineab πῖγ Ulað<sup>2</sup> aða  
dorom pe meap do palat<sup>3</sup>:  
cluichi Cuailgne cpoð m-bapc m-beo ;  
mapi pluag α Muiptheimneo ;

<sup>1</sup> *Maen-magh*, a celebrated plain in the present county of Galway, comprising the lake and town of Loughrea, the townlands of Mayode and Finnure, and all the campaign country around Loughrea. See *Tribes and Customs of the Uí Maine*, p. 70, note\*, and p. 180.

<sup>2</sup> *Dar-mhagh*.—This is probably the place sometimes called Darhybrian, in the mountain of Sliabh Echtghe, on the southern boundary of the plain of Maen-magh.

<sup>3</sup> *Cruachan*.—This was the name of the ancient palace of the kings of Connaught, situated near Belanagare, in the county of Roscommon. The place is now called Rathcroghan, and contains the remains of several earthen forts.

<sup>4</sup> *Ath Gallta*.—This place was in Uí Maine, but the editor has not been able to

identify it with any name now in existence.

<sup>5</sup> *Seaghais*.—This was the ancient name of the mountainous district now called Coirr-shliabh, or the Curliu mountains, situated on the borders of the counties of Roscommon and Sligo.

<sup>6</sup> *Fearta-mna-Maine*, i. e. the grave of the wife of Maine. This monument is unknown to the editor, unless it be the place called *Tuaim mna*, i. e. the tumulus of the woman, now anglicized Toomna, and situated on the river Boyle, in the barony of Boyle, and county of Roscommon.

<sup>7</sup> *Luchaid*.—This place still retains its ancient name among those who speak Irish, but it is anglicized Lowhid. It is situated near the hamlet of Toberreendoney in the barony of Inchiquin and county of Clare, and near the boundary of the barony of



On May morning, of first flowers,  
To visit Maen-magh<sup>1</sup>, but touch not Dar-mhagh<sup>2</sup>.

These are things prohibited to the king  
Of Connacht—let him observe them in his country;  
To form a treaty concerning Cruachan<sup>1</sup> on Samhain's day  
Is not prosperity, but it is misfortune;

To contend with the rider of a grey horse  
At Ath Gallta<sup>m</sup>, between two posts;  
A meeting of women at Seaghais<sup>a</sup> at all;  
To sit on the sepulchre of the wife of Maine<sup>o</sup>;

In a speckled cloak let him not go  
To the heath of Luchaid<sup>p</sup> in Dal Chais:  
These are at every time, in the west,  
The five prohibitions of the king of Cruachan.

Let the king of Uladh<sup>a</sup> hear his prerogatives,  
To him with honour they were given:  
The games of Cuailgne<sup>r</sup>, [and] the assembling of his swift fleet;  
The mustering of his host in Muirthemhne<sup>s</sup>;

Kiltartan, in the county of Galway. Keating,—in the reign of Diarmaid Mac Fearghusa Ceirbheoil,—describes the country of the Dal Cais, which was originally a part of Connacht, as extending from Bearn tri Carbad to Bealach na Luchaide, and from Ath na Borumha (at Killaloe) to Leim Conchulainn (Loophead).

<sup>1</sup> *Uladh*, i. e. Ulster.

<sup>2</sup> *Cuailgne*.—This name is still preserved, but corrupted to Cuailghe, in Irish, and anglicized Cooley. It is applied to a mountainous district in the barony of Lower Dundalk, in the county of Louth. In an Irish story, entitled, *Toraidheacht Gruaidhe Grian-sholuis*, written by a native of this district, the well-known mountains of Sliabh Fidhit and Sliabh Feadha, are distinctly mentioned as two of these Cu-

ailgne mountains, and the district is thus described: “*Ír amlaib acá an tír rin na fuide .i. an aibéir cuimreac cuibrac caruimeac í an rál-muir rioblaic ruidorb ar éab ó í rleibte apoa aibreaca úr-aibne lán do fpoitib pionn-cuibraca fíor-uirce, í do gleann-eaib eaireamaica eab-uaine, í do coilleib mún-cuimraca, com-coeproma ar an eab eilí ói.*” — “This district is thus situated: the noisy, froathy, wailing sea, and the flowing fierce brine on one side of it, and lofty-towering delightful mountains, full of white-foaming pure-watered streams, of delightful green-sided valleys, and of smooth-skirted waving woods on the other side.”

<sup>3</sup> *Muirthemhne*.—This territory com-

## Ḑeara agur buaḑha

Tinoḑceabal pluagḑo co re  
 oo gḑear a h-Eamam Maichi;  
 foḑpach gḑial—iḑ cian po cloḑ,  
 co Ḑun Soḑairḑi polar;

Seoḑ ap tupoḑail a maḑ  
 a n-Uḑmeach Mḑoḑ mḑḑo<sup>64</sup>  
 in caḑ feachemaḑ<sup>65</sup> blaḑḑan bain  
 uaḑ oo riḑ Uḑmḑḑ iḑlain<sup>67</sup>.

Acait upḑarḑa ana  
 oo riḑ<sup>68</sup> Ulaḑ iḑḑana:  
 eḑraiḑ<sup>69</sup> [ille] Raḑa Uḑne<sup>60</sup>  
 iḑiḑ ocaḑ Aḑaiḑe;

Eḑpeacht pe luamain enḑiall<sup>61</sup>  
 Uḑḑo Saḑleach oia puḑ gḑian;

prised that part of the present county of Louth, extending from the Cualgne (Cooley) mountains to the river Boyne. Dundalk, Louth, Druminiaklin, now Drumiaklin, Faughard, and Monasterboice are mentioned as in this territory. See *Annals of Tighernach* ad ann. 1002.—*Ussher's Primordia*, pp. 627, 703, 827, 902. This territory was also called *Machaḑre Oirghiall*, as being the level portion of the extensive country of Oirghiall, and the ancient inhabitants were called *Conaille Muirtheimhne*.

<sup>64</sup> *Eamhain Maichi*, more usually written *Eamhain Macha*. This was the name of the ancient palace of the kings of Ulster, from the period of Ciombaeḑth, its founder, who flourished, according to the accurate annalist, Tighernach, about three hundred years before Christ, till A. D. 332, when it was destroyed by the three Collas, the ancestors of the people called Oirghialla (Orriels). From this period it remained without a house till the year 1387, when Niall O'Neill, presumptive king of Ulster,

erected a house within it for the entertainment of the literati of Ireland. Colgan, who does not appear to have ever seen this place, describes the state of the ruins of the Ultonian palace as follows, in 1647: "*Emania prope Ardmacham, nunc fossis latis vestigiis murorum eminentibus, et ruderibus, pristinum redolens splendorem.*" —*Trias Thaum.* p. 6. See also O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 36.

Dr. Lanigan, in his *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 314, note 185, writes: "The growth of Armagh contributed to its downfall." But this observation is quite untenable, as Emania had been deserted for a whole century before Armagh was founded. The ruins of Eamhain, or, as it is now corruptly called, the Navan fort, are to be seen about two miles to the west of Armagh, to the right of the road as you go from Armagh to Kinard or Caledon. They are well described by Dr. Stuart in his *Historical Memoirs of Armagh*, pp. 578, 579.

The commencement of his hosting, also,  
 Always at Eamhain Macha<sup>1</sup>;  
 The confinement of his hostages—of old 'tyas heard,  
 At Dun Sobhairce<sup>2</sup> the bright;

A rich gift on taking his place  
 At Uisneach<sup>3</sup> of Meath of the mead,  
 In every seventh goodly year,  
 To be given by him to the rightful king of Uisneach.

There are noble prohibitions  
 To the bold king of Uladh:  
 The horse-race of Rath Line<sup>4</sup>, also,  
 Among the youths of Araidhe<sup>5</sup>;

To listen to the fluttering of the flocks of birds  
 Of Linn Saileach<sup>6</sup> after set of sun;

The editor examined the site of Eamhain with great care in 1835, but could not find any trace of stone walls (*vestigis murorum eminentibus*) there; the earthen works, however, are very extensive, and show that it must have been a place of considerable importance.

<sup>1</sup> *Dun Sobhairce*, Sobhairce's fort (Dun-severick), an insulated rock containing some fragments of the ruins of a castle, near the centre of a small bay, three miles east of the Giant's Causeway, in the county of Antrim. See Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 182, where its situation is described as follows: "Dunsobhairce est arx maritima et longè vetusta regionis Dal Riedia, quæ nomen illud a Sobarchio filio Ebrici, Rege Hiberniæ, primoque arcis illius conditore circa annum mundi 3668, desumpsit, ut ex Quatuor Magistris in annalibus, Catalogo Regum Hiberniæ Ketteno, Lib. i., et aliis passim rerum Hibernicarum Scriptoribus colligitur." Charles O'Connor of Belanagare, and all the writers on Irish topo-

graphy, down to the year 1833, had assumed that Dun Sobhairce was the old name of Carrickfergus, but the editor proved, in an article in the Dublin Penny Journal, p. 361-363, May 11th, 1833, that it is the place now called Dunseverick.

<sup>2</sup> *Uisneach*.—See note 5, p. 6, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> *Rath Line*.—This rath, which was otherwise called Rath mor Maighe Line, is still in existence in the plain of Magh Line (Moylinny), Lower Massareene, Antrim. See it referred to in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 680, and in the Annals of Connaught, at 1315.

<sup>4</sup> *Araidhe*, i. e. of Dal Araidhe, a large region in the east of Ulster, extending from Newry, in the south of the county of Down, to Sliabh Mis (Slemmish), in the barony of Lower Antrim, in the county of Antrim. Magh Line, above described, is a portion of Dal Araidhe. It extended from Lough Neagh to near Carrickfergus.

<sup>5</sup> *Linn Saileach*, i. e. the pond of the sal-

## Ḑeapa agur buadha

corrað feiri for feoil cairb  
Dairi mic Dairi donn-ḡairb ;

Teache mīr Marta a Maḡ Choḡu  
oo riḡ Ulað<sup>62</sup> nī h-aða ;  
uiru ḡo v'ol—ooraið de,  
Neimib iuir va dairche.

Ara puno ploimreap co teano<sup>63</sup>  
oo chuic riḡaib na h-Ereano,  
im riḡ Teampa tuche iea  
a n-aða 'ra n-upḡarua.

Nī bliḡ cuairt cuicið co teano<sup>63</sup>  
na ollamnacht na h-Ereano  
cacha riri ruall nach  
an fili lair nach paḡbaigtheap<sup>64</sup>.

Mað fearr lið re<sup>64</sup> lirið la  
deanað<sup>65</sup> uilī aen timna,  
deanaib depeapc ap Dia n-bil  
ir leop v'aða[ið] cach aen rir. A rir.

lows. This place is unknown to the editor.

\* *Daire-mic-Daire*, i. e. roboretum filii Darii. This name would be anglicized Derrymacderry or Derryvidary, but the editor is not acquainted with any place of

the name.

\* *Uisce Bo Neimhidh*, i. e. the water of the cow of Neimhidh. This name would be anglicized Uskabonevy, but there is no stream, well, or locality in Ulster at present bearing the name, and the editor has

To celebrate the feast of the flesh of the bull  
Of Daire-mic-Daire<sup>a</sup>, the brown and rough;

To go in the month of March to Magh Cobha  
To the king of Uladh is not lucky;  
To drink of the water, whence strife ensues,  
Of Bo Neimhidh<sup>a</sup> between two darknesses<sup>a</sup>

Here are, let them be proclaimed boldly,  
To the five kings of Eire,  
With the king of Teamhair, through all time,  
Their prerogatives and prohibitions.

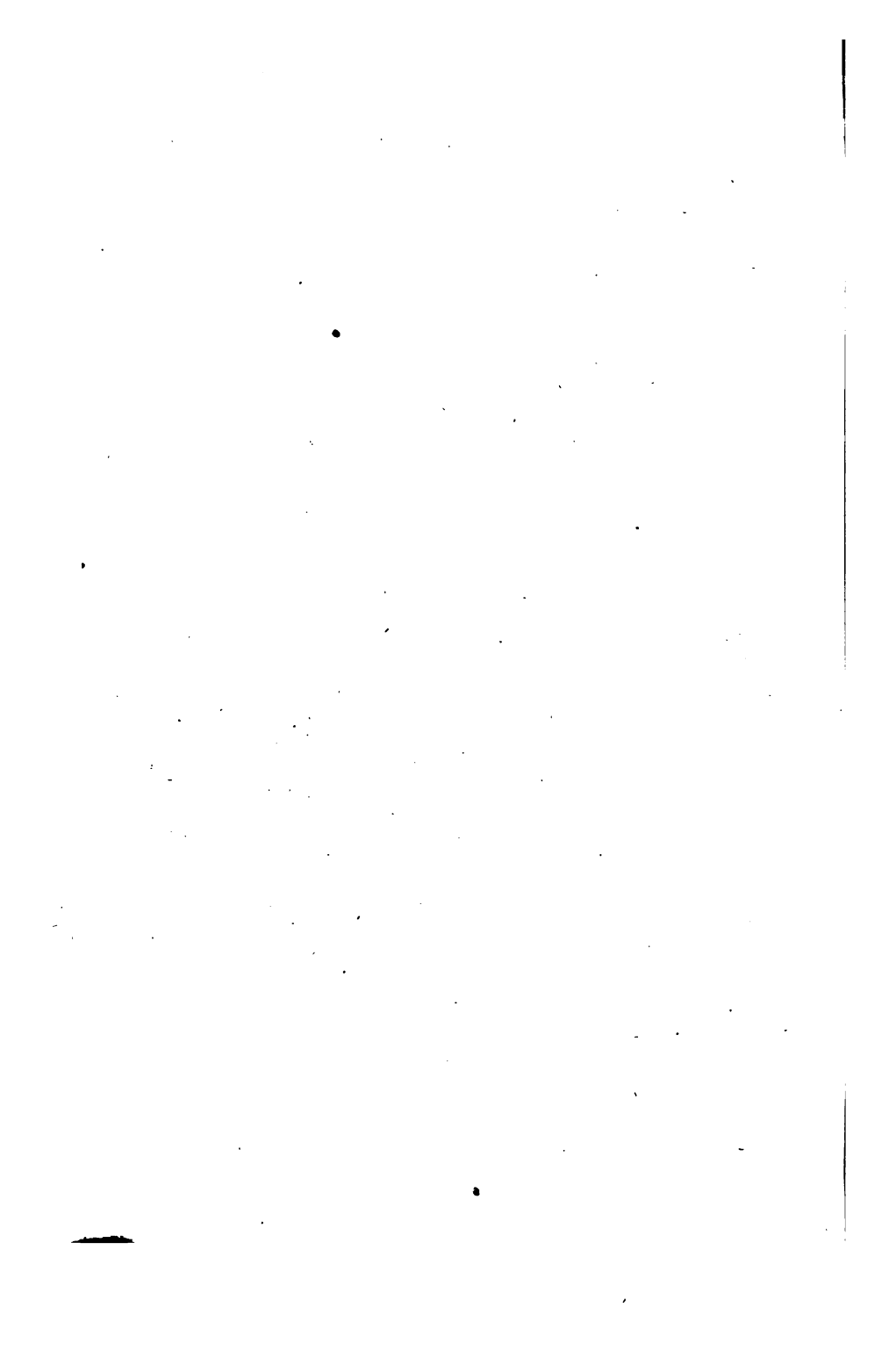
He is not entitled boldly to make the visitation of a province,  
Nor to the ollamh-ship of Eire,  
Nor to what he asks, be it ever so trifling,  
The poet to whom they are unknown.

If ye wish for a life of many days,  
Make ye all one will,  
Hold charity for the sake of the good God,  
Which is prerogative sufficient for every man. O man<sup>b</sup>, &c.

never met any authority to show where in Ulster it was situated.

<sup>b</sup> *O man*, *Cl íip*.—A part of the first line is usually repeated at the end of every separate poem. One reason evidently is to prevent mistake, as the vellum MSS. are

so closely written that it would not be always easy to distinguish the end of one poem from the beginning of another, without some notice of this kind. It also serves as an indication that the particular piece is concluded.



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LEABHAR NA 3-CEART.

## LEABHAR NA Ğ-CEART.

### I.—DZIGHEADH RIGH CHAISIL.

[INCIPIT ba Leabur na c-Cearte inoirtear do círaib ġ tuarparlaib Epeann aňail ro órdaib ġenéan mac Seprén fáilm-éerlaib Pháoruaib, aňail ac feo Lebar ġlinne Dá Ĥača.]

Do ólgeadaib chipe Chairil, ġ oia chíraib, ġ oia chánaib, ino ġ ayy, ano ro rír, ġ do chuapartalaib ríġ Muňan ġ ríġ h-Erino apcheana, ó ríġ Chairil, in ean ba fállna flaitheir ino.

Chairil don cairil! .i. cloch forr a fuirmoib ġéill, no cír ail iarr an ail chíra do berchea ó fearaib Erino dó. Sib-óruim ono ba feaó a annm an maib rin prur.

Do pála din dá mucuib i n-aimeir Churpe meic Ĥuigóeach ic eatharġi na tulcha rin, ríí pé ráiehi ic meapraó a muc ár ba óruim ríóbaibí h-é<sup>a</sup>. Dábar h-é a n-anmanoa na mucuibí .i. Durobú, mucuib ríġ h-Ele, ġ Culapán, mucuib ríġ Mureraibí. Co eapfar baib bealb fa ġloinichir ġréin, ġ ġuth binoitheir meano chpoe

<sup>a</sup> *Cis ail*, i. e. tribute rent. This derivation is also given in Cornac's Glossary. The term *Caiseal*, which is the name of many places in Ireland, as well as of the ancient metropolis of Munster, denotes a circular stone fort; and there can be little doubt that Corc, king of Munster, erected a fort of this description on the rock, when he changed its name from Sidh-dhrúim to Caiseal.

<sup>b</sup> *Sidh-dhrúim*, i. e. fairy hill.

<sup>c</sup> *Corc, the son of Lughaidh*.—The date of his death is not given in the authentic Irish annals, but we may form a pretty correct idea of his period from the fact that his grandson, Aengus mac Nadfraech, was slain in the year 489.

<sup>d</sup> *Ele*.—At this period the territory of Ele comprised, besides the country afterwards called Ely O'Carroll in the King's County, the present baronies of Eliogarty and Ikerrin, in the county of Tipperary.



## THE BOOK OF RIGHTS.

### I.—THE PRIVILEGES OF THE KING OF CAISEAL.

The Book of Rights which treats of the tributes and stipends of Eire (Ireland) as Benean, son of Sescnean, the psalmist of Patrick, ordained, as the Book of Gleann-Da-Loch relates.

Here follows concerning the laws of the right of Caiseal (Cashel), and of the tributes and rents given to it and by it, and of the stipends given to the kings of Mumha (Munster), and the other kings of Eire, by the king of Caiseal, when it is the seat of the monarchy.

Caiseal [is derived] from *cais-il*, i. e. a stone on which they used to lay down pledges, or *cis-aíl*<sup>a</sup>, i. e. payment of tribute, from the tribute given to it by the men of Eire. Sidh-dhruim<sup>b</sup> was the name of the place at first.

It happened in the time of Corc<sup>c</sup>, the son of Lughaidh, that two swine-herds frequented that hill for the space of a quarter of a year to feed their swine on acorns, for it was a woody hill. The names of those swine-herds were Durdru, the swine-herd of the king of Ele<sup>d</sup>, and Cularan, the swine-herd of the king of Muscraidhe<sup>e</sup>; and there

<sup>a</sup> *Muscraidhe* (*Thire*).—This was the ancient name of the district now comprised in the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, in the north of the county of Tipperary. The church Cill Cheire (Kilkeary, near the town of Nenagh), and Leatracha, (Latteragh, about eight miles south of the same town), are mentioned as in this territory. See Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum*, pp.

151, 461, and the *Feilire Aenguis*, Jan. 5, and Oct. 27. It is stated in a letter written by Sir Charles O'Carroll to the Lord Deputy, in 1585 (and now preserved in the Lambeth Library, Carew Collection, No. 608, fol. 15), that the name Lower Ormond was then lately imposed upon "Muskry-heery," by the usurpation of the then Earl of Ormond.

lais ic beanbochað na tulaí in baili ic cairnngiri pátraic  
ar beir :

Fo, fo, fo, fear fallnaícair<sup>1</sup> Cairil,  
Corr cémeanbach i n-anmaim an Aro-Aethaí,  
Sceo Meic na h-Ingine,  
La nach spiriut Naem;  
Eppuc<sup>2</sup> maireach, mór, maith,  
Dár beatha co m-breitheamnar,  
Línfar Eirinn áro aingliú  
D' aer cach úir co n-ignádaib,  
La fognum Críste chaim.

Ir h-í epá belb bae and rin .i. Uiccor angel [Pátraic] ic cair-  
cheabal pátraic i órbain i aipeochair Eirinn do beith do gneár  
ir in baili rin.

Ció pil ann om áit ir ceano-pon<sup>3</sup> do Phátraic i ir pñm-chathair  
do nuí h-Eirinn in baili rin. Acup oleáir eir i fognum fear  
n-Ereann do nuí in baili rin do gneár<sup>4</sup> .i. do nuí Cairil epé beanbá-  
cain pátraic mic Aplaime.

Acé and ro, imorro, eapircla na nuí ó nuí Cairil más nuí  
h-Eirinn h-é i a chuairt-peom i a biaéa-pom fopra dia chinn .i.

Céat copn i céat claidéam i céat n-each i céat n-inar uad  
do nuí Cpuachna i biathaó dá ráithi ó nuí Cpuachan bó-pom i a  
dul lair a Tír Chonaill.

Fichi fála i fichi fichthell i fichi each do nuí ceneoil Co-  
naill i biathaó mír ó chenél Conaill bó-pom i ceact lair i Tír  
n-Boğain.

Caeca copn i caeca claidé i caeca each do nuí Ailig i bia-  
thaó mír uad bó-pom i torgeact<sup>5</sup> lair a Tulair n-Og.

Tricha copn i tricha claidé i tricha each do flath Thulcha

<sup>1</sup> *There appeared to them a figure, &c.*  
—This story is also given by Keating in  
his History of Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> *The angel Victor.*—According to the  
Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, published by  
Colgan, lib. i. c. 19, and Jocelin, c. 19;

Victor was the name of St. Patrick's guar-  
dian angel. But Dr. Lanigan asserts that  
“there is no foundation for what we read  
in some of his Lives concerning his being  
often favoured with the converse of an an-  
gel Victor,” &c. Eccles. Hist., vol. i. p. 144.

appeared unto them a figure<sup>f</sup>, brighter than the sun, with a voice sweeter than the angular harp, blessing the hill and the place, [and] predicting [the arrival of St.] Patrick, and it said:

Good, good, good the man who shall rule Caiseal,  
Walking righteously in the name of the Great Father,  
And of the Son of the Virgin,  
With the grace of the Holy Spirit;  
A comely, great, good Bishop,  
Child of life unto judgment,  
He shall fill noble angelic Eire  
With people of each order of various grades,  
To serve Christ the benign.

The figure which appeared there was Victor<sup>g</sup>, the angel of Patrick, prophesying [the coming of] Patrick, and that the grandeur and supremacy of Eire would be perpetually in that place.

Accordingly that town is a metropolis to Patrick, and a chief city of the king of Eire. And the tribute and service of the men of Eire are always due to the king of that place, i.e. the king of Caiseal, through the blessing of Patrick<sup>h</sup>, the son of Alplainn.

Now here are the stipends of the kings from the king of Caiseal, if he be king [monarch] of Eire, and his visitation and refection among them on that account, i.e.

One hundred drinking-horns, one hundred swords, one hundred steeds, and one hundred tunics [are given] from him to the king of Cruachan; and refection from the king of Cruachan to him for two quarters of a year, and to accompany him into Tir-Chonail.

Twenty rings, twenty chess-boards, and twenty steeds to the king of Cineal Conaill, and a month's refection from the Cineal Conaill to him, and to escort him into Tir-Eoghain.

Fifty drinking-horns, fifty swords, and fifty steeds to the king of Aileach, and a month's refection from him to him, and to escort him to Tulach Og.

Thirty drinking-horns, thirty swords, and thirty steeds to the lord

<sup>h</sup> *Through the blessing of Patrick, the son of Calporn.* In St. Patrick's *Confessio*, he says that his father was Calpornius, a son of Alplainn.—He is more usually called

Og, 7 biathaó dá chláth déag lair 7 a cheacht<sup>10</sup> lair a n-Oingiall-  
aib.

Ocht lúipeacha 7 fearcat inar 7 fearcat each do riú Aingiall  
7 a biathaó ré mór a n-Émain 7 a chóimídeacht in n-Ulltaib.

Céad corinn 7 céat macal 7 céat claidib 7 céat n-each 7  
céat long<sup>11</sup> do riú Ulaó, biathaó mór<sup>12</sup> só-rom a h-Ulltaib, 7 Ulaó  
lair co Teamhair.

Trícha lúipeach 7 trícha fáilach 7 céat n-each 7 trícha fíth-  
chell do riú Teampach 7 biathaó mór 7 Teampairg fair 7 ceitheora  
fine Theampach lair co h-Áth Cliath.

[Deó mná 7] deich n-eich 7 deich longa do riú Áda Cliath 7  
biathaó mór ó riú Áda Cliath só-rom 7 a chaemtheacht il-Laignib.

Trícha long 7 trícha each 7 trícha cumal 7 trícha bó do riú  
Laignean 7 biathaó dá mór ó Laignib só-rom .i. mí ó Laign tuath-  
gabhair 7 mí ó Laign deargabhair. Trícha each 7 trícha lúipeach  
7 ceatpoáó claidib.

Itiad rin a tuairpeila 7 a comádeachta conib doib-fíde<sup>14</sup> ao feo  
in t-úgoar buaó .i. Denén mac Seircnéin:

Dlígead each riú ó riú Cairil,  
bíó ceirt ar bárduib co bráth,  
ro geibthar 7 taeib na Taidéan  
ac ruaid na n-Éadail co gnáth.

Céad corin, céat claidéan a Cairil,  
céat n-each, céat n-inar riú air,

deacon. See the remarks on this passage  
in the Introduction.

<sup>1</sup> *The Four Tribes of Tara*; see the  
*Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 9, where those tribes  
are mentioned, viz., the families of O'h-Airt;  
O'Ceallaigh, of Breagh; O'Conghaile; and  
O'Riagain.

<sup>2</sup> *Laighin Tuath-gabhair*. — All that  
part north of Bealach Gabhrain, the road  
of Gabhran.

<sup>3</sup> *Along with the Taidéan*. — Taidéan,  
or tuighean, was the name of the orna-  
mented mantle worn by the chief poet or

laureate of all Ireland. It is described in  
Cormac's Glossary.

<sup>4</sup> *A hundred drinking-horns, or goblets*.  
— O'Brien derives the word corin from  
corin, a horn, Latin *cornu*, and asserts  
that drinking cups were anciently of horn.

<sup>5</sup> *A hundred swords*. — The word  
claidéan, or clóidéan, is evidently  
cognate with the Latin *gladius*. It is re-  
markable that Giraldus Cambrensis (*Topo-  
graphia Hibernia Distinct*. iii. c. x.) makes  
no mention of the sword among the mili-  
tary weapons used by the Irish in his time.

Tulach Og, [who gives him] refection for twelve days and escorts him to the Oirghialla.

Eight coats of mail, sixty tunics, and sixty steeds to the king of the Oirghialla, [by whom] he is entertained for a month at Eamhain and escorted to the Ulstermen.

A hundred drinking-horns, a hundred matals, a hundred swords, a hundred steeds, and a hundred ships to the king of Uladh, and the Ulstermen give him a month's refection and escort him to Teamhair (Tara).

Thirty coats of mail, thirty rings, a hundred steeds, and thirty chess-boards to the king of Teamhair; and he receives a month's refection at Teamhair, and the four tribes of Teamhair<sup>1</sup> escort him to Ath Cliath (Dublin).

Ten women, ten steeds, ten ships to the king of Ath Cliath, and a month's refection [is allowed] to him from the king of Ath Cliath, who accompanies him to the Leinstermen.

Thirty ships, thirty steeds, thirty cunhals (bondmaids), and thirty cows to the king of Laighin, and two months' refection from the Leinstermen to him, i.e. a month's from northern Laighin<sup>1</sup> and a month's from southern Laighin; [to whom he presents] thirty steeds, thirty coats of mail, and forty swords.

Such are his stipends and escorts, of which the gifted author Benean the son of Sescnean said:

THE RIGHT of each king from the king of Caiseal,  
 Shall be question to bards for ever:  
 It shall be found along with the Taidhean<sup>k</sup>  
 With the chief poet of the Gaeidhil constantly.

A hundred drinking-horns,<sup>1</sup> a hundred swords<sup>m</sup> from Caiseal,  
 A hundred steeds, a hundred tunics<sup>n</sup> besides,

The mention of the swords in this work, as among the weapons presented by the kings to their chieftains, shows the inaccuracy of Cambrensis. Spenser considers that the Irish always had "their broad swordes," and he adduces them as an evidence of his favourite theory, the descent

of the Irish from the Scythians.

<sup>n</sup> *Tunica*, *incap.* This word is translated "cloaks" by Mac Curtin, in his *Brief Discourse in Vindication of the Antiquity of Ireland*, p. 178; but in a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 2, 13, it is used to translate the Latin *tunica*.

ar a éir, co teilir, tuachail,  
do'n rí g'fíor Cnuachain cair.

Diathas dá ráithi ó'n rí rín  
do chupaid Múman ar míl,  
bail leir ri tnear a (b)-Tír Conaill,  
co rí g'eara m-(d)ódoirinn mór.

Rí g'Conaice la cupaid Cairil  
co caetib deápnair,—ní bréig;  
ní Conaill co clandaib Eogain  
earas do'n deoraid lair téir.

Fíchi fáilach, fíci fícheill,  
fíchi each co ro Ear-puaid  
do'n rí g' do nar deapdar do'gairig,<sup>16</sup>  
do rí g'déapnair Conaill chupaid.

Diathas mór ó máithib Conaill  
do chúiceas Múman a mairg,  
acur dia rí g'—ní d'lig<sup>16</sup> deolairg,  
ria n-bail a (b)-Tír n-Eogain n-áirb.

Caeca corinn ip caeca claidib,  
caeca each gléir co gnáth  
d' fíri raith ó D(h)oirib na n-earg-mear,  
do fáilach Oilig aincear cách.

<sup>16</sup> *Cruachan* (Rathcroghan, near Balenagare, Roscommon), where the ruins of several forts and other monuments are still to be seen. This was the ancient palace of the kings of Connaught. See above, p. 20, n. 1.

<sup>17</sup> *Tír-Chonaill*, i. e. the country of Conaill. This was nearly co-extensive with the present county of Donegal. It derived its name from Conall Gulban, the son of Niall of the Nine Hostages.

<sup>18</sup> *The cataract of Badharn*, i. e. the cataract Eas Aodha Ruaidh mic Badh-

airn, called Assaroe, and sometimes the Salmon Leap. It is on the River Erne, at the town of Ballyshannon.

<sup>19</sup> *Bearnas*, i. e. a gap in a mountain, now Barnismore, a remarkable gap in a mountain situated about five miles to the east of the town of Donegal.

<sup>20</sup> *Tribes of Eoghan*, i. e. the families descended from Eoghan, the son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, seated in the present counties of Tyrone and Londonderry, and in the baronies of Raphoe and Inishowen, in the county of Donegal.

From his country, actively and prudently,  
To the king who obtains the pleasant Cruachan<sup>o</sup>.

Entertainment for two quarters from that king  
To the heroes of Mumha (Munster) for their valour,  
[And] to escort him with a force to Tir Chonaill<sup>p</sup>  
To the king of the rapid cataract of Badharn<sup>q</sup>.

The king of Connacht with the heroes of Caiseal [goeth]  
To the battalions of Bearnas<sup>r</sup>,—it is no falsehood;  
The king of Conall goes with him  
As guide to the stranger to the tribes of Eoghain<sup>s</sup>.

Twenty rings<sup>t</sup>, twenty chess-boards<sup>u</sup>,  
Twenty steeds at the great Eas-ruaidh<sup>v</sup>  
To the king for whom no sorrow is fated,  
To the king of the gap of the hardy Conall<sup>w</sup>.

A month's refection from the chiefs of Conall  
In grief [is given] to the province of Mumha,  
And to their king—no gratuitous law,  
Before going into the noble Tir-Eoghain<sup>x</sup>.

Fifty drinking-horns and fifty swords,  
Fifty steeds with the usual trappings  
To the man of prosperity of the Doires<sup>y</sup> of goodly fruit,  
To the prince of Aileach who protects all.

<sup>t</sup> *Twenty rings*.—Fíchi fálaing. Mac Curtin translates this twenty gold rings, p. 178.

<sup>u</sup> *Twenty chess-boards*.—Fíchi píccéall.—“Twenty pair of Tables.” Mac Curt. The píccéall is described in Cormac's Glossary as quadrangular with straight spots of white and black, 17 ceṛṛacáin in píccéall, ocuṛ it bipe a tíce, ocuṛ fíno ocuṛ buṇ fúinne.

<sup>v</sup> *Eas-ruaidh*, i. e. cataracta Rufi, see page 34, note 1.

<sup>w</sup> *Bearnas Chonaill*, i. e. Conall's gap or gapped mountain.—See page 34, note 1.

<sup>x</sup> *Tir-Eoghain*, i. e. Eoghain's country, now anglicized Tyrone, but the ancient Tir-Eoghain was more extensive than the present county.—See page 34, note 1.

<sup>y</sup> *O Dhoiribh*.—Doire, Derry, London-derry, formerly Doire Calgach, afterwards Doire Choluim Chille. The plural name seems to allude to the oak woods there, so often mentioned in the Lives of St. Colum Chille.

Diathas mór do mac-*flaith* Muíman,  
 a muig Muíman,—ní raib peach<sup>16</sup>,  
 d'fíor cúicib dhannuib gan beoiginn,  
 ó chlanbaid Eogain na n-each.

Trícha corinn 7 trícha claidib,  
 ceir trícha ruaid each do'n ród,  
 do'n fíor 'c-á m-bí<sup>17</sup> d'umclaid uaine,  
 do *flaith* Thulcha uaine Og.

Diathas dá thráth deas co deasla  
 do rig Muíman, mífir báirb,  
 ó rig Thulcha Og, cean deasail  
 nó co tor co<sup>18</sup> h-Eamain áirb.

Ocht lúipecha do *flaith* Aingiall  
 a h-*oirpeacht* Cairil céat crech  
 do'n fíor fíor m-(b)í<sup>19</sup> céarta cinas,  
 fearcat inar, fearcat each.

Diathas mór a mullach Eamna  
 ó Aingiallaib áta móir,  
 do rig Cairil chair ó'n chuchtar,  
 uil lair a n-Ultaib a n-oir.

<sup>16</sup> *The province of BrannDubh*, i. e. the province of Leinster, from Brann Dubh, one of its celebrated kings. It is here put for the king of Cashel's territory by a poetical license. See page 40, note r.

<sup>17</sup> *Green tumulus*, d'umclaid uaine. This alludes to the hill on which the chief of Tulach Og used to inaugurate the Irish monarchs of the northern Ui Neill race. See *Addenda* to the *Ui Fíachrach*, note L, on the Inauguration of the Irish chiefs, pp. 425, 431, &c.

<sup>18</sup> *Tulach Og*, i. e. the hill of the youths (Tullaghoge, corruptly pronounced Tullyhawk), a small village in the parish of Desertcreaght, barony of Dungannon, Ty-

rone. After the establishment of surnames in the tenth century, the chief family of this place took the surname of O'h-Again (O'Hagan). See last reference.

<sup>19</sup> *Eamhain*.—This was the ancient palace of the kings of Ulster; but after the year 332 it lay in a state of desertion, though occasionally referred to as the head residence of the Oirghialla, as in the present instance.

<sup>20</sup> *Coats of mail*, lúipeacha.—The Irish word lúipeach, (which is cognate with, if not derived from the Latin *lorica*), certainly signifies *mail armour*.

<sup>21</sup> *Ulstermen*.—Uladh was originally the name of the entire province of Ulster, but after the year 332 it was applied to that



Refection of a month to the young princes of Mumha,  
 From the plain of Mumha,—it is no false account,  
 To the man of BrannDubh's<sup>a</sup> province without opposition,  
 From the clans of Eoghan of steeds.

Thirty drinking-borns and thirty swords,  
 Thirty red steeds [fit] for the road,  
 To the man who has the green tumulus<sup>a</sup>,  
 To the chief of the green Tulach Og<sup>b</sup>.

Twelve days' refection nobly  
 To the king of Mumha, the bards notice,  
 From the king of Tulach Og, without separation  
 Until he escorts him to the noble Eamhain<sup>c</sup>.

Eight coats of mail<sup>d</sup> to the prince of the Oirghialla  
 From the host of Caiseal of the hundred preys  
 To the man who has the chastisement of crimes,  
 Sixty tunics, sixty steeds.

A month's entertainment on the summit of Eamhain [is due]  
 From the Oirghialla of the great ford  
 To the king of pleasant Caiscal from the kitchen,  
 [And] to escort him to the Ulstermen<sup>e</sup> eastward.

portion of the east of Ulster (Down and Antrim) bounded on the west by the Lower Bann and Lough Neagh, and by Gleann Righe, through which an artificial boundary was formed, now called the Danes' Cast. This boundary is distinctly referred to in a manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. iii. 18, p. 783, in the following words: *Do'n caob abur do Glionn Rige do rigneab eopann Gleanna Rige o'n iubar anuap eatoppa 7 Clannaib Ruðpaige 7 níp pilleasap clanna Ruðpaige anun ó pín á le*, i. e. on the hither side of Gleann Righe, the boundary of Gleann Righe was formed from the Newry up-

wards between them [i. e. the Clann-Colla] and the Clanna Rudhraighe, and the Clanna Rudhraighe never returned across it from that time to the present. On an old map of Ulster the river of Newry is called Owen Glanree fluvius.

O'Flaherty and others, who have written on the history of Ireland in the Latin language, have for the sake of distinction adopted *Ulidia* to denote the circumscribed territory to the east, and *Ultonia* to denote the entire province of Ulster. See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part III. c. 78, p. 372; Ussher's *Primordia*, pp. 816, 1048; O'Connor's *Dissect.* p. 176, and *Lan. Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 28.

Céad coph, céat claiðeð, céat matal  
 do mílig ðoirchi—ní baeth,  
 céat each, áct ip o'eachaib donda,  
 acup deich longa do'n laech.

ðiaðað dá aen mír a h-Ulltaib  
 o'uaíal níð Cairil, ó'n chill,  
 ðligð ac Tulaig áip Cheapnaig;  
 Ulaib laip co Teampnaig tino.

Tricha lúipeach do laech Teampach,  
 tricha fáalach—ip fíip rin,  
 céat n-each ní ícithaða ícith íeíom<sup>19</sup>,  
 la trichano ícithill ac íleíð.

ðiaðað mír a mullach Theampach  
 do threán-íearaib<sup>20</sup> Cairil éruino;  
 taíðeáct<sup>21</sup> laip íine ap a íurpmim,  
 íip Míð, co ðuiblino n-ouino.

Deich mná, deich longa co leapthaib  
 ó laech Cairil acup Clíach,

<sup>1</sup> *A hundred matals.*—Céat matal. Mac Curtin translates this "one hundred Mantles," p. 174. *Matal* was probably another name for the *íalain* which in latter ages was applied to the outer covering or cloak; but this is far from certain. *Matal* is applied in *Leabhar Breac*, fol. 64, b, a, to the outer garment worn by the Redeemer. Giraldus Cambrensis describes the outer covering of the Irish in the twelfth century as follows, in his *Topographia Hiberniae*, Dist. III. c. x.:

"Caput illis modicis assueti sunt & arctis, trans humeros deorsum, cubito tenus protensis: variisque colorum generibus panniculorumque plerumque consutis: sub quibus phalargis laneis quoque palliorum vice

utuntur, seu braccis caligatis, seu calligis braccatis, & his plerumque colore fucatis."

Dr Lynch says that the *íalain* was the outside rug cloak. See *Cambrensis Eversus*, p. 104; but Ledwich asserts (*Antiquities*, second edit. p. 267) that "this it could not be, for Cambrensis describes it as worn under the hooded mantle." He also asserts that the name *íalain* is not Irish, but that it is derived from the Saxon *Falding*, and that it came *with the manufacture* into this island; but this is all gratuitous assertion.

<sup>2</sup> *Boirche.*—A territory, now the barony of Mourne, the mountains of which were called Beanna Boirche. This clearly appears from a notice of Boirche in the *Dinnseanchus*, and also in the *Annals of Tighearn*.

A hundred drinking-horns, a hundred swords, a hundred matals<sup>f</sup>  
 To the warrior of Boirche<sup>g</sup>—not foolish,  
 A hundred steeds, but bay steeds,  
 And ten ships<sup>h</sup> to the hero.

Twice one month's refection from the Ulstermen  
 To the noble king of Caiseal, from the church,  
 Is due at the pleasant Tulach Chearnaigh<sup>i</sup>;  
 The Ulstermen escort him to strong Teamhair<sup>j</sup>.

Thirty coats of mail to the hero of Teamhair,  
 Thirty rings—that is true,  
 A hundred steeds not wearied in a fatiguing service,  
 With thirty chess-boards for a banquet.

A month's refection on Teamhair's summit  
 [Is due] to the mighty men of round Caiseal;  
 And the tribes come with him on his march,  
 The men of Midhe (Meath), to the brown Duibh-linn<sup>k</sup>.

Ten women, ten ships with beds  
 From the hero of Caiseal and Cliach<sup>l</sup>,

nach at the year 744, where it is stated that the sea had thrown ashore in the district of Boirche a whale with three golden teeth; and Giraldus Cambrensis, in noticing the same story, states, that this whale was found at "*Carlenfordia in Ultonia*." See his *Topographia Hibernia*, Dist. ii. c. 10. There is a moat near the source of the Upper Bann, still called móta beanna óoipce.

<sup>h</sup> *Ten ships*.—The word *long* is in common use to denote a ship. We have yet no evidence to prove the size or construction of the vessels here referred to. It is curious to remark, that the monarch bestows ships upon those princes only whose territories extended along the sea.

<sup>i</sup> *Tulach Chearnaigh*, i. e. Cearnach's hill, Tullycarney, in the county of Down.

<sup>j</sup> *Tara*.—Teamhair, the ancient palace of the monarchs of Ireland till it was cursed by St. Ruadhan of Lothra, in the reign of Diarmaid, the son of Fearghus Ceirbheoil, who died in the year 565, after which it became a ruin, but the Irish monarchs, and sometimes the kings of Meath, were called from it kings of Teamhair.—See Petrie's *History and Antiquities of Tara Hill*, pp. 100–104. See p. 7, note <sup>h</sup>, *supra*.

<sup>k</sup> *Duibhlinn*.—See p. 12, note <sup>g</sup>, *supra*.

<sup>l</sup> *Cliach*, a territory around Cnoc Aine in the county of Limerick, introduced here to fill up the metre.

veich n-eich a n-uair bláca blácaig  
do rig Acha cladaig Cliath.

Diachad mór ó maithib Tomair<sup>22</sup>  
do thigearna Cairil chair,  
rí in áca díleatig, nach daig-beir,  
do dhéteain a Laigrib lair.

Tricha long do laechraib Liamna,  
laitear epíca veag each bó,  
dligib im na epícha im Charmon<sup>23</sup>  
tricha ban-móó, tricha bó.

Diachad dá lán mór ó Laigrib  
do laech Muíman a Muig Ráth,  
cuib mór a Muig Dhanuib brogda  
ó éanduib Conla reach cách.

Tricha each, én tricha lúreach  
do laech Gabrán gloine<sup>24</sup> dath,  
nocho n-eachlacha ro fliúda<sup>25</sup>;  
ceathraíca claidéan i (g)-cath.

Ac<sup>26</sup> rin tuairpela rig h-Éirio  
ó rig Muíman mólaib<sup>27</sup> rir;  
'r-a m-biathad ó'n luét rin uile,  
dearb ré cach n-buine ro dlíg<sup>28</sup>.

[Dlígead.]

<sup>22</sup> *Ath Cliath*.—The name for Dublin.—  
See p. 12, note 2, *supra*.

<sup>23</sup> *Tomar's chieftains*.—See Introduction.

<sup>24</sup> *Liamhain*.—This place was also called *Dun Liamhna*. It was an ancient seat of the kings of Leinster, and still retains its name under the anglicized form of Dunlavan, in the county of Wicklow. See the Circuit of Maircheartach Mac Neill, p. 36.

<sup>25</sup> *Carman*.—This was the ancient name of the place where the town of Wexford now stands. See p. 15, note 1, *supra*.

<sup>26</sup> *Magh Rath*, i. e. the plain of the raths or forts. The Editor does not know any

place of this name in Leinster.

<sup>27</sup> *Magh Brann-duibh*, i. e. the plain of Brann Dubh, king of Leinster, who resided at Rath Brann or Dun Brann, near Baltin-glas. See p. 36, note 2, *supra*.

<sup>28</sup> *Connla*.—He was the ancestor of Mac Giolla-Phadruig and his correlatives, who were seated in the ancient Os-raidhe (Os-sory), extending from the Sliabh Bludhna mountains to the meeting of the Three Waters, and from the river Bearbha to Magh Feimhlin. See pp. 17, 2, 18, 3, *supra*.

<sup>29</sup> *Gabhra*.—See p. 17, note 4, *supra*. By hero of Gabhra is here meant "the king

Ten steeds in their prime condition  
To the king of the entrenched Ath Cliath<sup>m</sup>.

A month's refection from Tomar's chieftains<sup>a</sup>  
To the lord of pleasant Caiseal,  
The king of the bounteous ford, which is not unwealthy,  
[Is] to come to the Leinstermen with him.

Thirty ships to the heroes of Liamhain<sup>o</sup>,  
Thirty good steeds are sent by him,  
There are due to the districts around Carman<sup>p</sup>  
Thirty women-slaves, thirty cows.

Two full months' refection from the Leinstermen  
To the hero of Mumha at Magh Rath<sup>q</sup>,  
A month's feasting at Magh Brannduibh<sup>r</sup> the fortified  
From the race of Connla<sup>s</sup> beyond all.

Thirty steeds, thirty coats of mail  
To the hero of Gabhran<sup>t</sup> of fair colour,  
It was not grooms that lashed them<sup>u</sup>;  
Forty swords for battle.

Such are the stipends of the kings of Eire  
From the king of Mumha whom men praise,  
And their refections from all the other parties,  
Which, as is certain to each person, are due. THE RIGHT.

or chief lord of Ossory."

"It was not grooms that lashed them, nocho n-eachlacha po ploideao, i. e. it was not grooms but chieftains who rode them. The meaning of ploideao, which is explained gearrao, cutting, by O'Clerigh, must be here determined from the kind of whip, goad, or spur, with which the ancient Irish incited their horses. The writer of Cath Cluana Tarbh states, that the king of Leinster drove his horse with a rod of yew, immediately before the battle of Clontarf (A. D. 1014); and Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote about the year 1186, as-

serts, that the Irish did not use spurs, but incited their horses with rods crooked at the head. His words are:

"Item sellis equitando non utuntur, non ocreis, non calcaribus: virga tantum, quam manu gestant, in superiori parte camerata, tam equos excitant, quam ad cursus invitant. Frenis quidem utuntur, tam chami quam freni vice fungentibus: quibus & equi, semper herbis assueti ad pabula nequaquam impediuntur. Præterea nudi & inermes ad bella procedunt. Habent enim arma pro onere. Inermes vero dimicare pro audacia reputant." *Top. Hib.* Dist. iii. c. 10.

CEART Cairil acur níg Cairil ó thuathaid ar meádon ann  
ro [rír].

O M(h)uircraib chéadamur tús na cána-ra .i. deich céad bó 7  
deich céad torc and rin ó M(h)uircraib.

Céad bó 7 céad muc 7 céad n-dam ó Uaithib and rin.

Uá céad mola 7 céad torc 7 céad bó 7 céad leand uaine a  
h-Áraib ind rin.

Céad bó 7 céad dam 7 céad torc ó Chorca Laib rin.

Deich céad dam 7 deich céad bó ó Chorca Duibne Beor.

Deich céad bó 7 deich céad torc ó Chiacraib Luachra.

Deich<sup>90</sup> céad bó 7 deich céad dam ó Chorca Daicne.

Míli bó 7 míli dam 7 míli peich 7 míli brat a Doirind.

Céad bó 7 céad dam 7 céad cránaó ar in [t]-Seachtinó.

Uá míli torc 7 míli bó ó na Dérib.

Noch ar dáirí epá scaib na círa rin, acé tar ceand<sup>90</sup> a (b)-tírí  
7 ar fáirí chipe [éineoil] Chairil 7 ar a deandochaó do Phádraic  
amál ad fear denéan:

CEART Chairil, cen chraó dia churaib,  
ro chairig dam bliúib;  
maich lé níg Gabrán in geaíar  
a fágbáil 'g-á íilí.

O M(h)uircraib cean fáib n-éichí,  
so Chairil áro uaithib

\* *Muscraidhe*.—According to all the Irish genealogical works, these were the descendants of Cairbre Musc, the son of Conaire Mor, monarch of Ireland in the beginning of the third century. See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 63. According to O'Uidhrin's topographical poem there were six Muscraidhes, all in Munster, namely, 1, Muscraidhe Mitine, the country of O'Floinn; 2, Muscraidhe Luachra, the country of O'h-Aodha, along the Abhainn Mhor (Blackwater); 3, Muscraidhe Tri Maighe, the country of O'Donnagain; 4, Muscraidhe Treitheirne, the country of

O'Cuirc; 5, Muscraidhe Iarthair Feimhin, the country of O'Carthaigh; 6, Muscraidhe Thire, the country of O'Donghaile and O'Fuirg. O'Brien, in his Irish Dictionary, after enumerating the several Muscraidhes, has the following remark: "It is referred to the judicious reader if it be a likely story that one Cairbre Musc, supposed son of a king of Meath in the beginning of the third century, and of whose progeny no account has ever been given, should have given the name of Muscry to every one of these territories, so widely distant from each other in the province of Munster."

THE RIGHT of Caiseal and of the king of Caiseal from [his] territories generally, down here.

With the Muscraidhe, in the first place, this tribute begins, i. e. ten hundred cows, and ten hundred hogs from the Muscraidhe.

A hundred cows, and a hundred pigs, and a hundred oxen from the men of Uaithne.

Two hundred wethers, and a hundred hogs, and a hundred cows, and a hundred green mantles from the men of Ara.

A hundred cows, and a hundred oxen, and a hundred hogs from Corca Luighe.

Ten hundred oxen and ten hundred cows from Corca Dhuibhne, also.

Ten hundred cows and ten hundred hogs from Ciarraidhe Luachra.

Ten hundred cows and ten hundred oxen from Corca Bhaiscinn.

A thousand cows, and a thousand oxen, and a thousand rams, and a thousand cloaks from Boirinn.

A hundred cows, and a hundred oxen, and a hundred sows from Seachtmhodh.

Two thousand hogs and a thousand cows from the Deise.

It is not for inferiority [of race] that they pay these tributes, but for their territories, and for the superiority of the right of Caiseal, and for its having been blessed by Patrick, as Benean sang:

THE RIGHT of Caiseal, without grief to its heroes,

It is my duty to record;

It is pleasing to the king of Gabhran the fierce

To find it [acknowledged] by his poet.

From the Muscraidhe without knotty falsehood,

To noble Caiseal from them [are due]

On these words it is necessary to remark, that there is as much authority from Irish history for the existence of Cairbre Musc, as there is for any other fact belonging to the same period; and that if we reject the account handed down of him and his father, who was full monarch of Ireland (not king of Meath, as O'Brien makes him, without

any authority), and of O'Floinn and others, his descendants, we should with equal reason reject every other fact belonging to this period stated by those genealogists. See Battle of Magh Rath, p. 340. For the account handed down by the Irish genealogists of Cairbre Musc, giving name to those territories, O'Brien substitutes an ety-

mílí bó,—fín poré a (m)-bráéar,  
mílí toré ó chuathaid.

Céb bó por énué fín h-am n-airéar",  
céat muc thall dia (b)-earció,  
céat n-dam do'n t-[r]luag aipeib coirció  
ó Uaithnió a n-airció.

Dá céat mólé ó'n dáim ad béaraid",  
céat toré, in cháim cháraid",

mological conjecture of his own, namely, that, it is likely that Muscraide is derived from *mus*, pleasant, and *crioch*, a country; but this is beneath criticism, as it is an undoubted fact that the termination (which is a patronymic one, somewhat like *έης* in Greek) is *raidhe*, not *craighe*, as we learn from tribe-names similarly formed, as *Calraidhe*, *Caenraidhe*, *Ciarraidhe*, *Graegraidhe*, *Osraidhe*, *Tradraidhe*. This being the case, we see that the root is *musc*, and that O'Brien's etymology is visionary. Dr. Lanigan, who, because he corrected proofs for Vallancey, was imbued with the rage for etymological delirium which was commenced by the British etymologists, and was taken up by O'Brien, and brought to its acme by Vallancey, approves of this silly etymological guess of O'Brien's, as highly probably, and writes as follows: "There were several tracts in Munster named Muscraighe, so called, says Colgan, (Tr. Th. p. 186) from a prince Musc, son of King Conor [*recte* Conaire] the great. O'Brien, with much greater appearance of truth, derives that name from *mus*, pleasant, and *crioch*, country." The delusion will, it is hoped, stop here, and will never be supported by a third authority worth naming.

1. The extent of Muscraide Mitaine,

or, as it was called after the establishment of surnames, Muscraide Uí Fhloinn, is now preserved in the deanery of "Musgrylin," which comprises, according to the *Liber Regalis Visitationis*, fifteen parishes in the north-west of the county of Cork. 2. Muscraide Luachra was the ancient name of the district in which the Abhainn Mhor (Blackwater) has its source; it was so called from its contiguity to the mountains of Sliabh Luachra (in Kerry). — O'Brien says that Muiscrith Luachra was the old name of the tract of land which lies between Kilmallock, Kilfinan, and Ardpatrick, in the county of Limerick; but for this he quotes no authority, and it is against every authority, for we know from O'h Uidhrin that the tribe of Muscraide Luachra were seated about the Abhainn Mhor (im abhainn moir maighi), but the position given them by O'Brien would leave them many miles from that river, as well as from Sliabh Luachra, from which they derived their distinguishing appellation. 3. Muscraide Tri Maighe, i. e. Muscraide of the three plains, which belonged to O'Donnagain, was not the barony of Orrery, as O'Brien asserts, for Orrery is the anglicized form of Orbraidhe, of which presently, and we have proof positive that "Muskerry-Donagan,"



A thousand cows,—it is the seat of their relative\*,  
A thousand hogs from their territories.

A hundred cows on the hill at time of calving,  
A hundred pigs within to be stored,  
A hundred oxen to the resident host are ordered  
From the men of Uaithne\* freely.

Two hundred wethers from the host I will say,  
A hundred hogs, the tribute they exact,

which was granted by King John (see Charter 9<sup>o</sup>. ann. Reg.) to William de Barry, is included in the present barony of Barrymore. Thus O'Brien's wild conjectures, which he put as if they were absolute demonstrated truths, vanish before the light of records and etymology. 4 and 5. The territories of Muscraidhe Breoghain, or Muscraidhe Uí Chuirc, and Muscraidhe of the west of Feimhin, are now included in the barony of Clanwilliam, in the south-west of the county of Tipperary, as appears from Keating, who places in Muscraidhe Chuirc Cill Beacain (Kilpeacon) in the barony of Clanwilliam; from the Book of Lismore, fol. 47, b, b; the Tripartite Life of Saint Patrick, lib. iii. cap. 32, which places in Muscraidhe Breoghain the church of Cill Fiacla (Kilfeakle), in the barony of Clanwilliam, about four miles and a half to the north-east of the town of Tipperary; and this is more particularly evident from the Ormond records, in which this territory is particularly defined. See grant of Edward III. to the Earl of Ormond. 6. Muscraidhe Thire includes the present baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, in the county of Tipperary, as we can infer from the places mentioned as in it, such as Cill Ceri (Kilkeare parish in Upper Ormond), and Leitreacha Odhrain (Latteragh, in the barony

of Upper Ormond), about eight miles to the south of Nenagh. See *Felire Aenguis*, at 27th October and 5th January, and Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum*, pp. 151, 461. The extent of this territory is defined by Sir Charles O'Carroll, in a letter to the Lord Deputy in 1595, in which he calls it "Muscryhyry," and states that the earl lately called it by the false name of Lower Ormond, a name which it had never borne before, inasmuch as it was always considered a part of "Thomond."

\* *Relative*.—The Muscraidhe descend from Saraidh, the daughter of Conn of the Hundred Battles; and the kings of Cashel of both houses, of Eoghanacht and Dal Cais, from Sadhbh her sister, who was married to Oilíoll Olum, king of Munster.

\* *Uaithne*, i. e. Uaithne Cliach and Uaithne Tíre. The former now the barony of "Owneybeg," in the county of Limerick, and the latter the barony of "Owney," adjoining it, in the county of Tipperary. After the establishment of surnames the families of Mac Ceoach (Mac Keoghs), and O'Loingsigh were dominant in Uaithne Tíre, and those of O'h-Iffernain (Hefernans), and O'Cathalain (Cahallans), in Uaithne Cliach, afterwards dispossessed by the Leinster family of O'Maoilriain (O'Mulrians), of the race of Cathaoir Mor.

céto bó do chéano buaili ac brúghaid,  
céat leano n-uame a h-Araib.

O Chorocho Laigi co laecharb  
céat bó ac caiblé<sup>24</sup> ir tuachant,  
rearcat oam n-bono—nocho bichao,  
céat eopc epon o chuatharb.

Mili oam—ir í in bneath beapma,  
nir ic<sup>25</sup> cneath ré-m<sup>26</sup> cúinní,  
míli bó, ní map<sup>27</sup> bu baibí,  
oo brú Dairbri O Duibni.

<sup>1</sup> *The farmer's dairy*.—One hundred cows which have enriched the buaile of the brughaidh. As to buaile, “booley,” see Spencer’s View of the State of Ireland, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> *From the men of Ara*, i. e. Ara-Tire, now the barony of “Ara,” or “Duhara,” in the north-west of the county of Tipperary, and Ara Cliach, a territory in the west of the county of Limerick. According to the Irish genealogists, the people of Ara are of the Rudrician race, and descended from Feartlachta, the son of Fearghus, king of the province of Ulster, in the first century.—See O’Fla. *Ogygia*, part iii. cap. 46. Ara-Tire is the present barony of “Ara,” in the north-west of the county of Tipperary; but the name of the territory of Ara Cliach is not preserved in that of any barony, but we know from the oldest Lives of St. Patrick, and various other authorities, that it adjoined the territory of Ui Fidhginte on the east side, and that it comprised the parish of Kiltelly and all the barony of Ui Cuanach, “Coonagh,” in the east of the county of Limerick, and the hill of Cnoc Aine, *anglicè* Knockany, in the barony of “Small County,” in the same county. It appears from

a tract in *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, fol. 88, that the territory of Ara was divided from that of Ui Fidhginte by the River Samhair, which appears from various reasons to be the “Morning Star.” In the course of time the people, originally called by the name Ara, were driven out or suppressed by the dominant race of Oilíoll Olum, and a tribe of the race of Eoghan, son of this Oilíoll, gave it the name of Eoghanacht Aine Cliach, of whom, after the establishment of surnames, O’Ciar-mhaic (now barbarized to “Kirby”), was the chief.—See O’h-Uidhri’s topographical poem, and O’Flaherty’s *Ogygia*, part iii. cap. 67.

<sup>3</sup> *Corca Luighe*, i. e. the race of Lughaidh, one of the tribe-names of the family of O’Eldiriceoil (O’Driscolls), and their correlatives, who were otherwise called Darfhine. It appears from a curious tract on the tribes, districts, and history of this territory, preserved in the Book of Leacan, fol. 122, that before the families of O’Donnobhain, O’Maghthamha, O’Suil-leabhain, and others, were driven into this territory after the English invasion, it comprised the entire of the diocese of “Ross.” This too, we may presume, was

A hundred cows that enriched the farmer's dairy<sup>a</sup>,  
A hundred green mantles from the men of Ara<sup>z</sup>.

From Corca Luighe<sup>a</sup> of heroes  
A hundred cows frisking and skipping,  
Sixty brown oxen<sup>b</sup>—not a small number,  
A hundred heavy hogs from the chieftainries,

A thousand oxen—it is the judgment I pass,  
They required not to be distrained<sup>c</sup> in my memory,  
A thousand cows, not like cows of ravens<sup>d</sup>,  
From the brink of Dairbhre O'Duibhne<sup>e</sup>.

its extent when this poem was written. In latter ages, however, "O'Driscoll's country" of Corca Luighe was narrowed to a very inconsiderable territory, in consequence of the encroachments of "O'Mahony, O'Donovan, and O'Sullivan Beare;" and in the year 1615 it was defined as containing only the following parishes in the barony of Carbery, viz. "Myross, Glanbarahane, (Castlehaven) Tullagh, Creagh, Kilcoe, Aghadown, and Cleare Island." The tract in the Book of Leacan is well worth publishing, as throwing much light on the ancient topography of the south of Ireland.

<sup>b</sup> *Sixty brown (dun) oxen.*—A hundred in the prose. See page 48.

<sup>c</sup> *Distrained*, nín ic cpead.—It is not necessary to levy by force—or, I remember not when levied by force.

<sup>d</sup> *Cows of ravens*, i. e. lean, dying cows, such as the ravens watch and perch on.

<sup>e</sup> *Dairbhre O'Duibhne.*—This, which is the name of the island of "Valencia," in the west of Kerry, is here put for Corca Dhuibhne, a large territory in Kerry, belonging to the families of O'Faillbhe (O'Falvys), O'Seagha (O'Sheas), and O'Conghaile (O'Connells). Shortly ante-

rior to the English invasion, O'Falvy possessed the barony of "Corcaguiny," O'Shea that of "Iveragh," and O'Connell that of "Magunihy;" but about the middle of the eleventh century the Ui Donchadha (O'Donoghues) settled in Magunihy, and drove the O'Connells westwards into Iveragh, where they were seated at Ballycarbery, near Cahersiveen. After the English invasion, about A. D. 1192, the families of O'Suilleabhain (O'Sullivans), and Mac Carthaigh (Mac Carthys), who had been previously seated in the great plain of Munster, as will be presently shown, were driven by the English into Kerry, and then those baronies were seized upon by the Mac Carthys and O'Sullivans, who reduced the families of the race of Conaire Mor to obscurity, inasmuch that the old "Annals of Innisfallen," the chronicle of the district, does not even once mention any of them except O'Falvy, who, being chief of all this race, retained a considerable territory till finally overwhelmed by the increasing power of the Mac Carthys and O'Sullivans, as well as of the Fitzgeralds, Ferriters, Huseys, Trants, and other Anglo-Irish families, who settled at an early period in his territory of Corca Dhuibhne, and were

O Chisrairdib cláir na claidéam  
 veich (g)-céat bó in<sup>30</sup> éain cuimh,  
 veich (g)-céat torc uairtib sean anab<sup>30</sup>,  
 a<sup>40</sup> Luachair na luðair.

O ð(h)airuib dá céat bó ar baethair  
 .o'á rath epó tar epichuib  
 do'n rið ro char bine dúchaid,  
 míli dam, ní síthaid.

Míli dam, míli bó beanaim,  
 do'n dún iar ló illoigim<sup>41</sup>  
 míli reith, ar<sup>42</sup> n-a n-at<sup>43</sup> o'olaino,  
 míli brat a ðoirino.

Sloino cáin Seachtmaigi na rinbach<sup>44</sup>,  
 ní bpeachtair<sup>45</sup> bpeanbach;  
 céat epán<sup>46</sup>, nochair chpó cean cheanbach,  
 céat n-dam, céat bó beanbach.

Dá míli torc iar n-a (b)-toða  
 cup in cnoc mar cheapa,  
 míli bó na n-Déir;  
 bana ó ð(h)epib ci ao beara?

supported against him by the Earls of Desmond, who resided principally at Tralee.

<sup>1</sup> *Ciarraidhe*, i. e. the race of Ciar, son of Fearghus, king of Ulster, by Meadhbh, queen of Connacht in the first century. The principal family of this race took the surname of O'Conchobhair (OConor). His country, which is often called Ciarraidhe Luachra, from the mountain of Sliabh Luachra, extended from the harbour of Tralee to the mouth of the Shannon, and from Sliabh Luachra to Tarbert. From this territory the county of Kerry has received its name. The Ciarraidhe were also called the race of Feorna Floinn. See note further on.

<sup>2</sup> *Baiscinn*. — This was the name of a very celebrated tribe, giving their name to a territory in the south-west of the county of Clare, of which Leim Chonchulainn (Loophead) forms the western extremity. They were the descendants of Cairbre Baschaoin, or Cairbre of the Smooth Palm, the brother of Cairbre Muc, already mentioned. This territory originally comprised the baronies of "Clonderalaw," "Moyarta," and "Ibrickan," in the county of Clare; but, after the expulsion of the Mac Gormans from Leinster, shortly after the English invasion, they were settled by O'Brien in the north of Corca Bhaiscinn, adjoining Corcomroe. After the establish-

From the Ciarraidhe<sup>f</sup> of the plain of swords  
 Ten hundred cows is the tribute I remember,  
 Ten hundred hogs from them without delay,  
 From Luachair of the lepers.

From the men of Baiscinn<sup>s</sup> two hundred lowing cows  
 As increase of stock [paid] for their territories  
 To the king who loved his own tribe,  
 A thousand oxen, not calves.

A thousand oxen, a thousand cows I exact,  
 For the palace in a day I ordain  
 A thousand rams, swelled out with wool,  
 A thousand cloaks from Boirinn<sup>b</sup>.

Name the tribute of the men of Seachtmhadh<sup>i</sup> of the foxes,  
 Not a quarrelsome host,—  
 A hundred sows, no unpurchased property,  
 A hundred oxen, a hundred horned cows.

Two thousand chosen hogs  
 To the hill [Caiseal] as tribute [are given],  
 A thousand cows, from the Deise<sup>k</sup>;  
 A fine for distraining from the Deise who can mention ?

ment of surnames, in the eleventh century, the chiefs of this territory took the surname of O'Domhnaill (O'Donnell), and O'Baiscinn; but, on the increasing of the population and power of the Dal Chais, the family of Mac Mathghamhna (Mac Mahon) became chiefs of this territory (which in latter ages comprised only the baronies of Clonderlaw and Moyarta), and reduced the race of the monarch Conaire Mor to comparative insignificance.

<sup>b</sup> *Boirinn*, i. e., a rocky district, Burren, a barony in the north of the county of Clare. The chief of this territory is of the same race as "O'Conor Kerry," and, after the establishment of surnames, took

that of O'Lochláinn (*anglice*, O'Loughlin or O'Loughlen). It is strange that Corcomruadh is omitted here, though given in the next poem.

<sup>i</sup> *Seachtmhadh*.—This territory is not mentioned by O'h-Uidhrin. Dr. O'Brien, in his *Disseftations on the Laws of the ancient Irish*, Vall. Collect. vol. i. p. 383, thinks that it was the barony of Iveragh, in the county of Kerry; but this could not be so, as that barony is mentioned under the name of Dairbhre. It was in the county of Tipperary, adjoining Ara.

<sup>k</sup> *Deise*, called *Nandesi* (na n-Desi) in the *Life of St. Carthach*.—See *Ussher's Primordia*, pp. 781, 865. These were de-

Cír rin ear ceano círi, ar coraig,  
 fairi in (e)í no leapaig,  
 ní ar dairi na n-dáim dian Déirig,  
 aét fairi chlár Chairil.

An cír [r]in Muíhan, co marpaib,  
 co ría bunad beéaig,  
 páopaic, in fúirt ór na porpaib,  
 a pé Chuirc no cheapaig. . . . [CEART CA.]

IS IAD-SO beor tecurca denén meic Seprnéan failm-cheat-  
 laig<sup>48</sup> páopaic: 7 do Chianoaéta Gleann Gemhín do ríl Taidc meic  
 Cén a Muíhan<sup>49</sup> máir bó .i. cor ad ceano coirceann caithe comharba  
 Chairil, péib íreab comharba páopaic; 7 in ean ná ba rig Éirino<sup>50</sup> rig  
 Chairil, íreab ar díri<sup>51</sup> dó forlámur for leith Éirino .i. ó Thig n-Duino  
 iar n-Éirino co h-Ath Cliath Laigean. Dísar eapairtail 7 cóm-  
 aiseachta rig Chairil do gréar .i. ríl drepail doric .i. Oppaidi.  
 Oleagao [Laigean ar] báig aen laithi teacht la báig rig Chairil i  
 (g)-ceano Chuino nó allmápac.

Ólgead dín<sup>52</sup> ó Ğ(h)allaib Atha Cliath, 7 ó deopaduib Éirino

scended from Fiacha Luighdhe, the elder brother of Conn of the Hundred Battles, monarch of Ireland, and were originally seated in the present barony of "Deece,"

Deire Teamnac, to the south of Tara, in Meath, but they were expelled from Meath by the monarch Cormac mac Airt, when they settled in Munster, and subdued that part of the country extending from the River Suir to the sea, and from Lismore to Credanhead, the eastern extremity of the present county of Waterford. In the fifth century, Aenghus, king of Munster, granted them the plain of Magh Feimhin, lying between Cashel and Clonmel, in the present county of Tipperary. See Keating, in the reign of Cormac mac Airt, and O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 69. After the establishment of surnames the chief families of this race

took the surnames of O'Bruic (Brick), and O'Faelain (Phelan). They were dispossessed by the Powers and Butlers shortly after the English invasion.

<sup>1</sup> *Cianachta*.—This tribe were descended from Cian, son of Oilioll Olum. They gave name to the present barony of Keenaght, in the county of Derry. After the establishment of surnames, the head of this family took the surname of O'Conchobhair (O'Conor) of Gleann Gemhín, which was the name of that part of the vale of the River Roa (Roe), near the village of Dun Gemhín (Dungiven). This family was dispossessed by the family of O'Cathain (O'Kanes), before the English invasion, and they are now all reduced to farmers or cottiers.

<sup>m</sup> *Comharba*.—This word is here used to denote heir or successor to property,

A tribute this for their territory, originally,  
 Noble is he who ordained it,  
 Not [on account] of ignobility in the vigorous hosts of the Deise,  
 But of the nobleness of the plain of Caiseal.

That is the tribute of Mumha, perpetual,  
 Until the end of time shall come,  
 Patrick, of this city over cities,  
 In the time of Corc adjusted it. . . . . THE RIGHT.

THESE ARE further the inculcations of Benean, son of Sescnean, the psalmist of Patrick. He was of the Cianachta<sup>1</sup> of Gleann Gemhin, of the race of Tadhg, son of Cian of great Mumha (Munster), i. e. that the comharba<sup>m</sup> of Caiseal is a general head of all, inasmuch as he is the comharba of Patrick; and when the king of Caiseal is not king of Eire, the government of the half of Eire is due to him, i. e. from Tigh Duinn<sup>n</sup>, in the west of Eire, to Ath Cliath (Dublin) of Leinster. The hereditary receivers of stipends and the attendants of the king of Caiseal are the race of Breasal Breac<sup>o</sup>, i. e. the Osraidhe. The Leinstermen are bound to come to attend the king of Caiseal any day in battle, against Conn<sup>p</sup> or aliens.

The Gaill (foreigners) of Ath Cliath (Dublin)<sup>q</sup>, and the exiles in Eire

which is the true meaning of it when it is not applied to the representatives of saints or founders of churches.

<sup>n</sup> *Tigh Duinn*, i. e. the house of Donn. This name is applied to three islands at the mouth of the bay of Ceann Mara (Kenne-mare), now called the Cow, Bull, and Calf. Donn, the son of Mileadh (Milesius), is said to have been lost here when the Milesian colony from Spain attempted to land on the coast of Kerry, and hence, his spirit having been believed to haunt the place where he was lost, the place received the name of Tigh Duinn. See Keating's History of Ireland (Haliday's edition), p. 292, and O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 16.

<sup>o</sup> *Breasal Breac*.—From Connla, the son

of this Breasal Breac, are descended the Osraidhe (i. e. the men of Ossory). See p. 17, note <sup>a</sup>, *supra*.

<sup>p</sup> *Against Conn*, i. e. against the descendant of Conn of the Hundred Battles, who were the dominant race in the northern half of Ireland.

<sup>q</sup> *The Gaill of Ath Cliath*, i. e. the Northmen, Ostmen, &c., of Dublin. The first people to whom the Irish applied the term were a colony of *Galli* from the coast of France, who settled in Ireland, *tempore* Labhra Loingseach, A. M. 3682. See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 139, p. 262: and Keating, in the reign of Labhraidh. It afterwards came to signify any invaders, but it was usually applied, before 1172, to the

[ar céana] oula lair i (g)-ceano catha ar (b)-telguó a (b)-tír; 7 oligió airiú ar éoirích ó Chonbactaib. Ipeas dno for [f]uair rin eorcas do naebais imbaib i (b)-Teimair, 7 riabe fa<sup>3</sup> eulach chiugearnair do Laigrib co cat Dhoma Deargaidi, ar ir ano do bach forpo a (g)-cuio do mag Mídi conas<sup>4</sup> bíleap cloinbi Néill ó rin ille.

Ipeas imorpo roo baibí flaith<sup>5</sup> Teimnirach eorcas Páorais co n-a muinter for Laegairi mac Néill, ocup eorcas Ruadán Loehra mac Aengura co na naebais Eirib for D(h)iarmaib mac Cerdhaill, 7 for éirihri finib na Teimnirach; 7 mo gellraib na naebairin ná biaó teach i (b)-Teimair ó Laegaire ná ó ísl Néill, co m-beith ó ísl n-Aililla Ulaím.

Trí rig dno il-Leith Moza nach (b)-turgnas eir do rig Cairil .i. rig Orraidi 7 rig Raithleand 7 rig Laáa Léin: de quibur denén mac Seprénan in failm-céatlaib [dixit]:

DENEN—beanoacht for in n-gen,  
do rao-ro a paltair Cairil,  
reanúr cach rig ir a rath  
ir deach imchéit eir Muman.

Rí Cairil, 'n-a<sup>6</sup> chno ór chách,  
ipeas fil-runn co tí in brát,

Norwegians, &c., who first began to infest the coasts of Ireland in the year 795. See Dubhaltach Mac Fírbisigh's genealogical work (Lord Roden's copy), p. 364, and Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 603, n. 11.

<sup>7</sup> *Border tribute*, i. e. for preserving their border from hostile encroachment.

<sup>8</sup> *The battle of Druim Deargaidh*.—According to the Annals of the Four Masters, this battle was fought in the year 507, between Fiacha, the son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, ancestor of the family of Mac Eochagain (Mageoghagans), and the Leinstermen, when the latter were defeated.

<sup>9</sup> *Clann Neill*, i. e. the descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages. After the establishment of surnames, the principal fami-

lies of the southern Ui Neill (*Nepotes Nelli*, as they are called by Adamnan, *Vita Columbae*, lib. i. c. 49), were the following, viz. O'Maoilsheachluin (O'Melaghlín), Mac Catharnaigh, in later ages called Sionnach (i. e. Fox), Mac Eochagain (Mageoghegan), O'Maolmhuidh (O'Molloy), O'Coindhealbhaín (O'Quinlan), O'Ceallaigh (O'Kelly) of Breagh or Bregia, and several others, who sunk into insignificance soon after the English invasion.

<sup>10</sup> *The fasting of Ruadhan of Lothair*, i. e. (by his name in Latin) St. Rodanus, the patron saint of Lortha (Lorha), now a small village in the barony of Lower Ormond, Tipperary, and six miles to the north of Burrisokane (*recté* Burgheis Ua



are bound to attend with him into battle, for maintaining them in their territory; and he is entitled to a border tribute<sup>r</sup> from the men of Connacht. The cause that he obtained this was, that many saints had fasted at Teamhair, which was the royal hill of the Leinstermen till the battle of Druim Deargaidh<sup>t</sup>, when it passed away from them, and their part of the plain of Midhe has been the lawful property of the Clann Neill<sup>c</sup> ever since.

The cause of the extinction of the regality of Teamhair was the fasting of Patrick and his people against Laeghaire, the son of Niall, and the fasting of Ruadhan of Lothair<sup>u</sup>, the son of Aengus, with the saints of Eire, against Diarmaid, son of Cearbhall, and against the Four Tribes of Teamhair<sup>v</sup>; and these saints promised [i. e. predicted] that there should not be a house at Teamhair of the race of Laeghaire, or of the seed of Niall, [but] that there should be of the race of Oilíoll Olum<sup>w</sup>.

There are three kings in Leath Mhogha, who do not render tribute to the king of Caiseal, i. e. the king of Osraidhe, the king of Raithleann, and the king of Loch Lein; concerning which Benean, the son of Sescnean, the psalmist, said :

BENEAN—a blessing on the man,

[Is he] who put this in the psalter of Caiseal,

The history of every king and his income,

The best that walk the land of Mumha.

The king of Caiseal, as head over all,

Is what is here [ordained] until the [day of] judgment,

Cathain). For the whole story relating to the cursing of Tara, in 563, by this saint, see Petrie's *Antiquities of Tara Hill*, page 101.

<sup>v</sup> *The Four Tribes of Tara*.—After the establishment of surnames these were the families of O'h-Airt (O'Harts), O'Riagain (O'Regans), O'Ceallaigh (O'Kellys) of Breagh, and O'Conghalaigh (O'Connollys). See *Battle of Magh Rath*, pp. 9, 10, and *supra*, p. 32, note <sup>i</sup>.

<sup>w</sup> *Of the race of Oilíoll Olum*.—There is

no authority for this promise or prediction of the saints in any of the *Lives of Saint Patrick*, or even in that of Rodanus, who was himself of the race of Oilíoll Olum. According to the genealogies of the saints, collected by the O'Clerighs, St. Ruadhan Lothra was the son of Fearghus Birn (not Aengus, as above in the text), who was son of Eochaidh, son of Deardubh, son of Daire Cearba, the ancestor of the family of O'Donnabhain (O'Donovans), and the fourth in descent from Oilíoll Olum.

## Leabhar

fuigell beanbaéan Dé Duino,  
altóir Pádraic meic Alpraind<sup>57</sup>.

Cairil,—do chinn ór each cinn  
áit Pádraic, ir Rí na Rinn  
áirí-ní in dómain, ir Mac Dé,—  
até rin bleaigao a linn.

An tan nach ní ar<sup>58</sup> Éirinn áin  
áirí-ní Cairil co n-a cháin,  
ir leir bail<sup>59</sup> Ébhir uile  
ó Ach Cliath co tighé Duino.

Ar bíleap dia bíleagó be  
fine álaind<sup>60</sup> Oirraide,  
uair tucain a n-éaraic áin  
oo ríge Cairil co n-a cháin.

Bíleagó do ní Laigean lonn  
each<sup>61</sup> ir cuirn co Cairil cionn,  
ór acur indíar tar muir  
iréad bleaigao<sup>62</sup> ó Laighe.

Bleaigao Laigin oula leo  
i n-áirí Gall prí gach gleo,  
dia (o)-ti[a]rtear chucu, co<sup>63</sup> prí,  
la ríge Cairil a (g)-con oib.

Bíleagó féin, ní Cairil chain,  
prí céad n-éadach ar S(h)amain,  
caeca each n-oué-gorm n-oué,  
ró cómair cach prím-chatha<sup>64</sup>.

Co fearadair meic ir mná,  
uair ir i n-a leath iá;

<sup>57</sup> *The place of great Eibhear* (Heber), i. e. the southern half of Ireland. See Keating, reign of Eireamhon (Heremon). O'Flaherty (*Ogygia*, part iii. cap. 17), quotes *Psalter na-Rann*, as a work written by Aenghus Ceile De, in the eighth century,

stating that Ireland was divided between the two principal sons of Mileadh, "Heremon" and "Heber;" that "Heber" governed the south of Ireland, and that "Heremon" enjoyed the north, with the monarchy.

The consequence of the blessing of the Lord God,  
[And] of the altar of Patrick, son of Alprann.

Caiseal,—which excels every head  
Except Patrick, and the King of the Stars  
The supreme-king of the world, and the Son of God,—  
To these [alone] its homage is due.

When the supreme-king of Caiseal with his law  
Is not king of noble Eire,  
He owns the place of great Eibhear<sup>x</sup>  
From Ath Cliath to Donn's houses.

Subject to his rights therefore  
[Are] the beauteous tribe of the Osraidhe,  
For they were given as a noble eric<sup>y</sup>  
To the king of Caiseal with his law.

Bound is the mighty king of Laighin [to render]  
Steeds and drinking-horns to sloping Caiseal;  
Gold and riches [brought] across the sea<sup>z</sup>  
Are what is due from the Leinstermen.

The Leinstermen are bound to go with them [the Munstermen]  
Against the Gaill (foreigners) in every battle,  
Should they [the foreigners] come to them, truly,  
The king of Caiseal is bound to drive them out from them.

He himself, the king of fair Caiseal, is entitled  
To three hundred suits of raiment at Samhain [from Leinster],  
To fifty steeds of dark-grey color  
In preparation for every great battle.

And it is known to children and women,  
For it is in their behalf this is;

<sup>y</sup> *Eric*, a fine. See in Harris's Edition of Ware's Antiquities, vol. ii. c. 11, p. 70, the observations respecting "eric."

<sup>z</sup> *Brought across the sea*, i. e. imported. Dr. O'Brien, in his Dissertations on the Laws of the Ancient Irish (Vall. Collect.

vol. i. p. 380), says "it may be concluded, from the quality of some of the subsidiary presents made by the king of Munster to his chieftains, that a foreign trade and commerce was carried on in Ireland in those days."

oligeas do each níg iar rín,  
ar a (b)-telcas 'n-a (b)-círið<sup>66</sup>.

An tan fa ríoch fíor Leath  
inorí móirí mac Míleas,  
oligís cáin Connacht, cean cleith,  
ar a (b)-telgas 'n-a (b)-tírean Leith<sup>66</sup>.

Aras in oligeas<sup>67</sup>,—ní gó,  
caeca dam ír<sup>68</sup> caeca bó,  
caeca each ír aínra a (b)-faill<sup>69</sup>,  
céat m-brat do bpatas Umail.

O ra thairceas na naim  
for T(h)eamhairí róchlaeta, raír,  
do riacht do pí Cairil chruino  
beannaet Pátraic<sup>70</sup> mic Alppaino.

Ní bia teach i (b)-Teamhairí Fáil,—  
gíó mór an oil o'Inir Fáil,—  
ic Laigin, nach ac ríl Cuino,  
co n-beannetar la cloimo n-Iulaim<sup>71</sup>.

Cíó maith in peanchar forr dú,  
ní leapaigchean pé laiginú;

<sup>a</sup> *Entitled to the tribute of Connacht*, i. e. when Leath Chuinn, or the northern half of Ireland, is at peace with the king of Caiseal, the latter is entitled to receive tribute from the chiefs of Connacht.

<sup>b</sup> *Umhall*, a territory in the county of Mayo, comprising the baronies of "Bur-rishoole" and "Murrek." These two territories are usually called "The Owles," by English writers, from their pronunciation of Umhall, viz., Oo-al. After the establishment of surnames, the chief family of Umhall took the surname of O'Maille, not from the territory, as is supposed by some modern writers, but from an ancestor

Maille. See further as to Umhal and the clann Mhaille, in the *Ui Fhiachrach*, p. 43, note <sup>1</sup>, and p. 181, notes <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> *The blessing of Patrick*.—The writer says, that after the cursing of Teamhair, the blessing of St. Patrick was transferred to Caiseal, which had never been cursed. He next insinuates that the race of Conn would not be worthy to re-erect Teamhair, and consequently that the race of Olioll Olum, who would one day restore the royal seat, would become the dominant family of Ireland; but this has not been granted, as the southern annalists do not even pretend to have had any monarch

Every other king is bound to pay in like manner  
For maintaining them in their territory.

When at peace with him is the Half  
Of the great island of the sons of Mileadh,  
He is entitled to the tribute of Connacht<sup>a</sup>, without concealment,  
For maintaining them in their great Half [i. e. in Leath Chuinn].

What they owe is,—[it is] no falsehood,  
Fifty oxen and fifty cows,  
Fifty steeds, costly their bridles,  
A hundred cloaks of the cloaks of Umhall<sup>b</sup>.

Since the saints fasted  
Against the renowned, noble Teamhair,  
To the king of round Caiseal has come  
The blessing of Patrick<sup>c</sup>, son of Alprann.

There shall not be a house at Teamhair of Fal,—  
Though great the reproach<sup>d</sup> to Inis Fail<sup>e</sup>,—  
With the Leinstermen, or the race of Conn,  
Until erected by the race of Olum<sup>f</sup>.

Though good the history on which I am [engaged],  
It is not taught by the Leinstermen;

of the race of Olioll Olum after the period of the cursing, except Feidhlim Mac Criomthainn and the renowned Brian Borumha.

<sup>a</sup> *At Teamhair of Fal, 10-Teamhair* fál; so called from its having the Lia Fail, which was preserved there. This has been translated "Stone of Fate," or "Destiny," on what authority deserves inquiry. The same word here rhymes or corresponds with itself in the same sense in this and the succeeding line. See p. 39, n. 1.

<sup>e</sup> *Inis Fail*.—This was one of the ancient names of Ireland, and it is said to

have been derived from the Lia Fail. See Keating (Haliday's edition), p. 116; also Petrie's *Antiquities of Tara Hill*, p. 135.

<sup>f</sup> *Till they are erected by the race of Olum*, i. e., by the race of Olioll Olum, who were at that period the dominant family of Munster. This prophecy has not been fulfilled, but it is very likely that it was generally believed, in the time of Feidhlim Mac Criomthainn, king of Caiseal, that the southern race would remove St. Ruadhan's curse, and re-erect Teamhair, and the same opinion may have prevailed during the reign of Brian Borumha.

## Leabhan

ní coiméadar pé Leath Chuinn,  
peanchur Aililla Ulaim.

Coiméadar-ra i (g)-Cairil cháio  
fo rimechar a n-imarbdáio  
do chóicead fáil<sup>2</sup> rundo fop leath,  
ir a eugnoim ar aen leath<sup>2</sup>.

Ir h-é in teach rin Mumu mór,  
ir é in dá chúicead in rlog;  
ir a Mumain mín, méad geall,  
ir cóir apd-plaithiur Epeann.

Rob bé ich ir meap ir maith  
a Mumain mín co méo raith;  
míó ir cuipn ir cuipm ir ceol  
do fearaib Mumain ir eol.

Fil epí píga a<sup>2</sup> Mumain mór,  
a (g)-cáin do Chairil ní cóir,  
ní Gabrán, ná gabthar géill,  
ní Rughleand, ní Lacha Léin.

<sup>2</sup> *It is not preserved by Leath Chuinn,*  
i. e. by the inhabitants of the northern half  
of Ireland. From these lines it is quite  
evident that the kings of the northern or  
southern Ui Neill, or those of Leinster, did  
not acknowledge the claim of the race of  
Olioll Olum to the sovereignty of Ire-  
land. Indeed, it appears that the contro-  
versy which took place between the bards of  
Ireland respecting the claims of the north-  
ern and southern Irish kings to supremacy  
and renown, about the beginning of the  
seventeenth century (when they were both  
prostrate), was but a continuation of dis-  
putes which had existed among them from  
the earliest ages. To sustain their argu-  
ments the Munster writers circulated va-  
rious stories about the bravery of their

kings, such as Toraidheacht Cheallachain  
Chaisil, and other exaggerated tracts; but  
these, though used to support the bardic  
disputes, as if they were genuine history,  
must now be submitted to a sterner histo-  
ric test than appears to have been applied  
to them at that time. It would appear  
from Irish history that the northerns were  
generally more powerful (excepting only  
during the time of Brian Borumha), for  
they defeated the southern in most of the  
great battles that had taken place between  
them, from the battle of Magh Leana  
(fought A. D. 192), in which Conn of  
the Hundred Battles defeated Eoghan Mor,  
the father of Olioll Olum, to the battle of  
Bealach Mughna (in 908), where Flann  
Sionna defeated Cormac Mac Cuilleainan.

It is not preserved by Leath Chuinn<sup>a</sup>,  
The history of Oilíoll Olum.

I shall preserve at sacred Caiseal  
All that is claimed in the controversy  
For the province in which this [palace] is exclusively,  
And it shall be collected into one house.

That is the house of great Mumha (Munster),  
Those two provinces are the host;  
It is in smooth Mumha, highly prized,  
That the supreme-sovereignty of Eire ought to be.

There are corn and fruit<sup>b</sup> and goodness  
In smooth Mumha of much prosperity;  
Mead and drinking-horns and ale and music  
To the men of Mumha are known.

There are three kings in great Mumha,  
Whose tribute to Caiseal is not due,  
The king of Gabhran<sup>1</sup>, whose hostages are not to be seized on,  
The king of Raithleann<sup>2</sup>, the king of Loch Lein<sup>1</sup>.

In the year 1185 the comparative warlike characteristics of those rival races of Leath Mhogha and Leath Chuinn were described as fellows, in the partizan language of Giraldus Cambrensis, who held both in abhorrence: "Sicut ergo Borealis Hiberniæ bellica: sic semper Australis gens subdola. Illa laudis, hæc fraudis cupida. Illa Martis, hæc artis ope confisa. Illa viribus nititur, hæc versutiis. Illa præliis, hæc proditiõibus."—*Hib. Exp.* lib. ii. c. 18.

<sup>b</sup> *There are corn and fruit, &c.*, i.e. Caiseal, which was blessed by St. Patrick, and which is the palace of a righteous king entitled to the monarchy of Ireland, is the source and fountain of all prosperity, luck, and affluence to the men of Munster.

<sup>1</sup> *The king of Gabhran*, i. e. of Osraidhe

(Ossory); *vide supra*, p. 17, n. <sup>a</sup>, p. 40, n. <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *The king of Raithleann*.—This was the name of the seat of O'Maghtamhna (O'Mahony), who, according to O'h-Uidhriú, was chief of the Cineal m-Bece, whose territory extended on both sides of the river Bandain (Bandon). His territory was erected into the barony of "Kinelmeaky." In later ages a sept of the same tribe settled in Corca Luighe, O'Driscoll's country, where they became masters of the district called Fonn Iartharach, or the western land, which comprised the parishes of "Kilmoe," "Scoil," "Kilcrobane," "Durris," "Kilmaconoge," and "Cahe-  
ragh," in the south-west of the county of Cork.

<sup>1</sup> *The king of Loch Lein*.—The ancient

No fííth i raltair Dé Déin,  
 reach ní thuilleadh ní beibél,  
 ó Inis co Cáire,—ní chél,  
 a (g)-Cairil po bai denéan.

Dál Cair ní robas il-léan,  
 po gáirub ré fíair fíir-én  
 do rab co h-ilapda, tréan,  
 eigeapna 'c-á m-bai in denéan. . . . [DENÉAN].

Leapangead Sealbach [ro] in raí,  
 acur Aengur, ar-aen cáí,  
 rochap Múman, map ad beap,  
 amail po fácaib<sup>70</sup> denéan. . . . . δ[ENÉAN].

CISA Múman ar meadon beor and ro do Chairil, acur ir cach  
 bliadhna do beapap .i. rmachte 7 biathad 7 turgnim<sup>71</sup> 7 faeram.

Trí céat mapt chéadamur a Murcpaidi, 7 trí céad torc acur  
 trí céad bó, [no céad bpat acur céad bó].

Trí céad torc 7 trí céad leano 7 céad lulgach ó Uaireniis  
 and rin.

Céat bó 7 tricha torc 7 tricha mapt 7 tricha bpat a h-Araid  
 ind rin.

Seapcat dam 7 fearcat mole 7 fearcat bó ó'n t-Seachtmáð  
 [ann]rin.

Caeca bó 7 caeca dam 7 caeca mapt ó h-Orðpauib<sup>72</sup> inn rin.

Trí chaeca dam, trí chaeca lulgach ó U(h)airfine beor<sup>73</sup>.

Tricha bó 7 tricha dam 7 tricha bpat ó Corco Duibne.

[Sé céad bó, ré céad dam, ré céad cránað a Ciappaidi].

Seacht (g)-céat bpat, reacht (g)-céat mole, reacht (g)-céat  
 bó, reacht (g)-céat cránað ó Chorca Duirpind.

chiefs who were seated at Loch Lein were  
 of the family of O'Cearbhoill (O'Carrolls,) of the race of Aedh Beannan, king of Munster; but the family of O'Donnchadha (O'Donohoes), who were originally seated in the plain of Caiseal, settled at Loch Lein (the Lake of Killarney), and dispossessed or

reduced these and other families of the race of Conaire Mor, and erected a new territory, to which was given the name of Eoghanacht Locha Lein, and afterwards Eoghanacht Ui Donnchadha, anglicized Onagh-I-Donohoe.

<sup>71</sup> *Sealbhuich the sage.*—He was a Mun-



There was found in the psalter of the God of Purity,  
 It was neither more nor less,  
 That from Shrovetide to Easter,—I shall not conceal it,  
 At Caiseal Banean remained.

The Dal Chais were not in grief,  
 They followed a host of holy men  
 Given to them copiously, mightily,  
 By the lord with whom Banean was. . . . . BENEAN.

Let Sealbhach the sage<sup>m</sup> preserve,  
 And Aenghus<sup>a</sup>, in the same manner,  
 The privileges of Mumha, as I say,  
 As Banean left [them]. . . . . BENEAN.

THE TRIBUTES of Mumha in general further here to Caiseal, and it is every year they are rendered, i. e., submission and refection and attendance and provision.

In the first place, three hundred beeves from the Muscraidhe, and three hundred hogs and three hundred cows, *or a hundred cloaks and a hundred cows.*

Three hundred hogs and three hundred mantles and a hundred milch-cows from the men of Uaithne.

A hundred cows and thirty hogs and thirty beeves and thirty cloaks from the men of Ara.

Sixty oxen and sixty wethers and sixty cows from the Seachtmhadh.

Fifty cows and fifty oxen and fifty beeves from the Orbhraidhe (Orrery).

Three times fifty oxen, three times fifty milch-cows from the Dairfhine moreover.

Thirty cows and thirty oxen and thirty cloaks from Corca Dhuibhne.

Six hundred cows, six hundred oxen, six hundred sows from the Ciarraidhe.

Seven hundred cloaks, seven hundred wethers, seven hundred cows, seven hundred sows from Corca Bhaiscinn.

ster poet who was contemporary with the famous Cormac Mac Cuilleannain, king of Mumha (Munster), and Bishop of Caiseal.

See O'Reilly's Irish writers, p. 61.

. <sup>a</sup> *Aenghus*.—See the Introduction, and p. 53, note ".

Céad caepach ⁊ céat cránaó ⁊ deich (g)-céat dam ⁊ deich (g)-céat bpat<sup>9</sup> ó C(h)orcampaó.

Míli dam ⁊ míli caepach ⁊ míli bpat ⁊ míli lulgach ó na Dérió.

Céad bó a h-Oriðraóí ⁊ céat bpat fínb ⁊ céat cránaó.

Ní ícaio Eoganaócht nach cír, ár<sup>80</sup> ír leo na fearuinda fógnaió Cairil<sup>81</sup>. Ní ícaio clanda Cair, nó Raichlind<sup>82</sup>, nó a Gleano Ámain, nó a Zqchaib Léin, nó a h-Uib Fíginnei, nó a h-Áme Cliach; coísaó aipí-rin ab beapí in báp buaóa óenén in duain<sup>83</sup>:

CÍB CQISL in eualaóair

ó'á<sup>84</sup> éuraíó ó chách?

a (b)uibní 'c-á m-buan fágaíl

cach bliadaim co bpat<sup>85</sup>.

Trí céat mapí a Murcraíó

ap gupí,—nocho gó,

trí céat topí, nach turcbuíó,

céat bpat ír céat bó.

Trí chéat topí ó Uaithní<sup>86</sup>

do Chairil can choll;

trí céat leano, ír lán fuaichníg,

la céat lulgach lono.

Trícha topí ná topgaóib,

trícha mapí ír móí,

trícha bpat ó boib Áraib,

céat n-óg-óó oia n-ól.

Seapca dam ppí dáig-íeachtíam,

seapca corp-móltí cíaí,

seapca glan bó ó'n glan t-Seachtíam

do Chairil na cíaí.

° *The tribute of Caiseal.*—The tributes here mentioned are different from those mentioned in the first poem. The first were, probably, for the support of the king's household in time of peace; and

these for the support of his household, and also of his troops, in time of war.

<sup>p</sup> *Muscraidhe.*—See p. 42, note <sup>p</sup>, *supra*.

<sup>q</sup> *Uaithne.*—See p. 45, note <sup>r</sup>, *supra*.

<sup>r</sup> *Ara.*—See p. 46, note <sup>r</sup>, *supra*.

A hundred sheep and a hundred sows and ten hundred oxen and ten hundred cloaks from Corcamruadh.

A thousand oxen and a thousand sheep and a thousand cloaks and a thousand milch-cows from the Deise.

A hundred cows from the Orbhraidhe, and a hundred white cloaks, and a hundred sows.

The Eoghanachts pay no tribute, for theirs are the lands which serve Caiseal. The Clanna Chais, or [the people] of Raithleann, or of Gleann Amhain, or of Locha Lein, or of the Ui Fhiginnnte, or of Aine Cliach, pay no tribute; concerning which the highly-gifted son, Benean, composed this poem:

THE TRIBUTE OF CAISEAL<sup>o</sup> have ye heard

For its heroes from all?

Its troops constantly receive them

Every year for ever.

Three hundred beeves from the Muscraidhe<sup>p</sup>

On the field,—'tis no falsehood,

Three hundred hogs, not fit for journeying,

A hundred cloaks and a hundred cows.

Three hundred hogs from the men of Uaithne<sup>q</sup>

To Caiseal without failure;

Three hundred mantles, all variegated,

With a hundred strong milch-cows.

Thirty hogs which are not able to rise,

Thirty beeves which are large,

Thirty cloaks from the fierce men of Ara<sup>r</sup>,

A hundred young cows for [the sake of] drinking [their milk].

Sixty oxen for a good week's [feast],

Sixty smooth black wethers,

Sixty fine cows from the fine Seachtmhadh<sup>s</sup>

For Caiseal of the companies.

<sup>o</sup> *Seachtmhadh*.—See p. 49, note<sup>1</sup>, *supra*. are mentioned in an order in this, different  
Here it will be observed that the territories from that used in the first poem.

## Leabhar

Caeca an bó a h-Orðraídi,  
 caeca mara rí<sup>97</sup> mear,  
 caeca dam can bodbuidi  
 do Chairil cean chear.

Trí chéad dam ó D(h)airfine,  
 ó'n dam-rea d'á d-(e)or,  
 ré céat lulgach, lán buidi<sup>98</sup>,  
 ó élanbaib Mec-con.

Trícha car brat, céat-(f)uair<sup>99</sup>,  
 ir corcair nor<sup>100</sup> éum,  
 tríca dáğ bó a Duibneachaib,  
 tríca dam a Druing<sup>101</sup>.

Seacht (g)-céat cráin<sup>102</sup> a Ciarraídi,  
 reacht (g)-céat bó,—ní bréag,  
 reacht (g)-céat dam a diam doirib<sup>103</sup>  
 do Chairil na (g)-céat.

Seacht (g)-céat brat ó D(h)airnedchaib,  
 reacht (g)-céat mola, nach mael,  
 reacht (g)-céat bó ó<sup>104</sup> dair-reachaib,  
 reacht (g)-céat cráin<sup>105</sup>, nach cael.

Dleagar a crích Corcampuaib,  
 céat caerach, céat crán,  
 deich (g)-céat dam a donn doirind,  
 míli brat, nach bán.

<sup>97</sup> *Orbhraidhe*, Orbraide in the text, but always now Orðraide, and *anglicé* Orrery, a barony in the north-west of the county of Cork. The tribe who gave their name to this territory were descended from Fereidheach, the son of Fearghus, king of Uladh (Ulster), in the first century. See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 46. This territory is not mentioned in the first poem.

<sup>101</sup> *Dairfine*.—This was one of the tribe-

names of the family of O'h-Eidirsceoil (O'Driscolls), and their correlatives, who possessed a territory co-extensive with the diocese of "Ross," in the south-west of the county of Cork. In the first poem they are called Corca Luighe. See p. 46, note <sup>9</sup>, *supra*.

<sup>105</sup> *Mac-con*.—He was Lughaidh Mac-con, who became monarch of Ireland in the year 250. He was the head of the Corca

Fifty fine cows from the Orbhraidhe\*,  
Fifty beeves to be estimated,  
Fifty oxen without staggering,  
To Caiseal without sorrow.

Three hundred oxen from Dairfhine"  
From this sept to their lord,  
Six hundred milch-cows, right good,  
From the septs of Mac-con'.

Thirty napped cloaks with the first sewing  
Which are trimmed with purple;  
Thirty good cows from the men of Duibhneach",  
Thirty oxen from Drung.

Seven hundred sows from the Ciarraidhe\*,  
Seven hundred cows,—no falsehood;  
Seven hundred oxen from the gloomy oak forests,  
From Caiseal of the hundreds.

Seven hundred cloaks from the men of Baiscneach',  
Seven hundred wethers, not hornless,  
Seven hundred cows from their cowsheds,  
Seven hundred sows, not slender.

There are due from the country of Corcumruadh\*  
A hundred sheep, a hundred sows,  
Ten hundred oxen from brown Boirinn,  
A thousand cloaks, not white.

Luighe or Dairfhine, and the ancestor of O'h-Eidirscoil. See last note.

\* *Duibhneach*, i. e. from the Corca Duibhne in Kerry. See p. 47, note c, *suprà*.

\* *Ciarraidhe*.—See p. 48, note f, *suprà*.

\* *Baiscneach*.—See p. 48, note f, *suprà*.

\* *Corcumruadh*, i. e. the descendants of Modh Ruadh, the third son of Fearghus, dethroned king of Ulster, by Meadhbh (Mauda), queen of Connacht in the first

century. The country of Corcumruadh, as can be proved from various authorities, was co-extensive with the diocese of "Kilfenora," and comprised the present baronies of "Corcomroe" and "Burren," in the county of Clare. After the establishment of surnames, the two chieftains and rival families of this race took the surnames of O'Conchobhair (O'Conor), and O'Lochlainn (O'Loughlin), and in course of time divided

Deich (g)-céat samh a Déireachaib,  
 míli caepach caem,  
 míli bpat co m-bán chóraip,  
 míli bó ar m-breith laeg.

Cét ó fearaib Oribraidi  
 do buaib beartach nó;  
 céat bpat fmo co fmo Chairil,  
 céat cránaib fpi<sup>96</sup> cpó.

Ní do oleagar<sup>97</sup> do Eoganaict eip  
 na bér co bpat,  
 ár ip leo ná fearainna  
 fógnau<sup>98</sup> Chairil cap.

[Ní bliḡ bu clannaib Cair  
 eip Chairil na (g)-cuan;  
 ní bliḡ a Glenn Aímain,  
 náca Raíelinn puab.]

Ní oleagar<sup>99</sup> ó laechaib Léin  
 nach a Gabair gairg,  
 ní oleagar o' (U)ib Fúine;  
 nacha a h-Aíne áip.

the territory equally between them, O'Connor, the senior, retaining the western portion, which still retains the original name, and O'Lochlainn the eastern portion, which from its rocky surface is called Boirinn (*Anglicè* Burren, or Burrin). The territory of Corcumruadh is omitted in the first poem, but it is probable that Boirinn is substituted for it, in the same way as Dairbhre is put for Corca Dhuibhne.

<sup>a</sup> *Deise*.—See p. 49, note <sup>k</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>b</sup> *Orbhraidhe*, already mentioned in this poem, p. 64, note <sup>i</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>c</sup> *The Eoghanachts*.—These were the descendants of Eoghan Mor, the eldest son

of Oilioll Olum, and ancestor of the family of Mac Carthaigh (Mac Carthys) and their correlatives, in south Munster. See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, p. iii. c. 67. Dr. O'Brien (Vall. Collect. p. 384), says that "all the tribes descended from Oilioll Olum by his three sons, Eoghan Mor, Cormac Cas, and Cian, were considered as free states, exempted from the payment of annual tribute for the support of the king's household."

<sup>d</sup> *That serve Caiseal*, i. e. that supply forces to assist the king in his wars at their own expense.

<sup>e</sup> *Heroes of Lein*, i. e. of Loch Lein (Lake of Killarney).

Ten hundred oxen from the Deise<sup>a</sup>,  
 A thousand fine sheep,  
 A thousand cloaks with white borders,  
 A thousand cows after calving.

A hundred from the men of the Orbhraidhe<sup>b</sup>  
 Of cows are given to him;  
 A hundred white cloaks to fair Caiseal,  
 A hundred sows for the sty.

The Eoghanachts<sup>c</sup> owe to him no tribute  
 Nor custom readily,  
 For to them belong the lands  
 Which serve fair Caiseal<sup>d</sup>.

The clann of Cas are not liable  
 To the tribute of Caiseal of the companies;  
 It is not due from Gleann Amhain  
 Nor from red Raithlinn,

No tribute is due of the heroes of Lein<sup>e</sup>  
 Nor of the fierce Gabhair<sup>f</sup>:  
 No tribute is due of the Ui Fidhgheinte<sup>g</sup>  
 Nor of the noble Aine<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> *Gabhair*, i. e. of Gabhran. See p. 40, note <sup>c</sup>, *supra*.

<sup>g</sup> *The Ui Fidhgheinte*.—The people who bore this appellation possessed that portion of the county of Limerick lying to the west of the River Maigh (Maigue), besides the barony of "Coshma" in the same county. In the time of Mathghamhain (Mahon), king of Munster, and his brother Brian Borumha, Donnobhan (Donovan), the progenitor of the family of O'Donovan, was called king of this territory, but his race were driven from these plains by the Fitzgeralds, Burkes, and O'Briens, a few years anterior to 1201, when Amhlaoibh O Don-

nobhain (Auliffe O'Donovan) was seated in Cairbre in the county of Cork, having a few years before effected a settlement there among the tribe of O' h-Eidirsceoil (O'Driscolla) by force of arms. These people were exempt from tribute as being the seniors of the "Eugenian" line, being descended from Daire Cearba, the grandfather of the great monarch Criomhthach Mor Mac Fidhaigh. See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, pp. 380, 381, and Cath Mhuighe Rath, pp. 338-340, note <sup>s</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> *Aine*, i. e. of Eoghanacht Aine, situate around "Knockany", Limerick, the chief of which was O'Ciarnhaic (Kirby).

Sochap maireach mór Chairil  
meamraib leat cae mór;  
ní mac ar beind Mumaine  
nech co caingne cír.<sup>99</sup> . . . . . CÍŚ.

Miri denén binofoclach,  
ban buada mar bír,  
fuair, a éreib ingantair,  
do Chairil a chír. . . . . CÍŚ CÍAISIL.

ТУАРАСТУА riğ Cairil do riğuib a thuath :

A leat lám chéavur, acur veich n-eich acur veich n-epriğ acur  
vá fálaig acur vá fíchheill do riğ Dáil Cair; acur torach lair a  
(ğ)-cric anechtar, acur lopc iar (ğ)-cách.

Veich n-eich acur veich (ğ)-cuipn acur veich (ğ)-claidib acur  
veich rcéit acur veich rcingí acur vá fálaig acur vá fíchheill do  
riğ Gabráin mo rin.

Veich n-eich acur veich módaig acur veich mná acur veich  
(ğ)-cuipn do riğ Eoganaet in tan nach ní Cairil.

Ocht módaib acur oet mná acur ocht (ğ)-claidim acur ocht  
n-gabna acur ocht rcéit acur veich longá do riğ na (n)-Deir.

Cóic eich acur cóic matail acur cúic cuipnn acur cúic claidim  
do riğ h-Ua Liatháin.

Veich n-eic acur veich (ğ)-cuipn acur veich rcéit acur veich  
(ğ)-claidib acur veich lúipeacha do riğ Raithleano.

Seacht n-eich acur reacht n-inair acur reacht (ğ)-coin acur  
recht lúipeacha do riğ Murcraib.

Seacht (ğ)-claidim acur reacht (ğ)-cuipn acur reacht lúip-  
eacha acur recht longá acur recht n-eich do riğ Dairfine.

Seacht (ğ)-coin acur reacht n-eich acur reacht (ğ)-cuipn do riğ  
Dairfine in r-(r)léib.

Seacht n-eich acur reacht (ğ)-cuipn acur reacht (ğ)-claidib  
acur reacht rcéit acur reacht (ğ)-coin do riğ Lacha Léim.

Seacht mná acur reacht matail co n-ór, acur reacht (ğ)-cuipn  
acur recht n-eich do riğ Ciarradib Luachra.

Seacht n-eich acur recht rcéit acur recht (ğ)-claidib acur  
recht longá acur recht lúipeacha do riğ Léim in Chon.



The goodly income of great Caiseal

Remember thou every month;

No one is a son on the lap of Mumha

Until he exacts tribute. . . . . THE TRIBUTE.

I am Benean the sweet-worded,

Gifted son as I was,

I have discovered, oh wonderful tribe,

For Caiseal its tribute. . . THE TRIBUTE OF CAISEAL.

THE STIPENDS of the king of Caiseal to the kings of his territories:

A seat by his side in the first place, and ten steeds and ten dresses and two rings and two chess-boards to the king of Dal Chais; and to go with him in the van to an external country, and follow in the rear of all on his return.

Ten steeds and ten drinking-horns and ten swords and ten shields and ten scings and two rings and two chess-boards to the king of Gabhran.

Ten steeds and ten bondmen and ten women and ten drinking-horns to the king of the Eoghanachts when he is not king of Caiseal.

Eight bondmen and eight women and eight swords and eight horses and eight shields and ten ships to the king of the Deise.

Five steeds and five matals and five drinking-horns and five swords to the king of Ui Liathain.

Ten steeds and ten drinking-horns and ten shields and ten swords and ten coats of mail to the king of Raithlinn.

Seven steeds and seven tunics and seven hounds and seven coats of mail to the king of the Muscraidehe.

Seven swords and seven drinking-horns and seven coats of mail and seven ships and seven steeds to the king of Dairfhine.

Seven hounds and seven steeds and seven drinking-horns to the king of Dairfhine of the mountain.

Seven steeds and seven drinking-horns and seven swords and seven shields and seven hounds to the king of Loch Lein.

Seven women and seven matals [trimmed] with gold, and seven drinking-horns and seven steeds to the king of the Ciarraidhe Luachra.

Seven steeds and seven shields and seven swords and seven ships and seven coats of mail to the king of Leim na Con.

Deich n-eich do níg h-Ua Conaill Gabhra, acur deich rceíteh acur  
deich (g)-claidiú do acur deich (g)-cuirn; acur gan gíallu uad aét  
lúgu pó láim níg Cairil.

Sechte n-eich do níg h-Ua Cairppi, acur reachte (g)-cuirno acur  
reachte (g)-claidiú acur reachte n-gilla acur reachte mógaroh.

Ochte (g)-cuirnn do chupaió Cliach, acur ochte (g)-claidiú acur  
ochte n-eich, dá pálaig acur dá fíechhill.

Seachte n-eich acur reachte (g)-cuirnn acur reachte rceíteh acur  
reachte (g)-claidiú do níg Gleano Áinnach.

Ochte n-eich acur ochte (g)-claidiú acur ochte (g)-cuirn, la  
grádaib flatha acur áipo-níg, do níg na n-Uathni.

Ochte n-eich do níg Eili, ochte rceíteh acur ochte (g)-claidiú acur  
ochte (g)-cuirn acur ochte lúipeacha.

Iré rin tuariscál na níg, amail do féo in fili, .i. Denén:

α εολαιῖ μῦμᾶν μόρι,  
μάραδ cuimneach canoine,  
éirig, ir learaig 'n-a thiḡ  
ceapre níg Cairil ó chríchaib.

Topach lair i (o)-tér n-aíl  
la pí Dál Cair—ní éile;  
lorig na níg Dál Cair in éoil,  
ic caideacét i crích n-aneoil.

Deich n-eich do níg Gabráin guirnn  
ó níg Dála, acur deich (g)-cuirn,  
deich (g)-claidiú, deich rceíteh, deich rcing,  
dá pálaig ir dá fíechhill.

i *The first with him*, i. e. to lead the van.

j *Dal Chais*, i. e. the families of O'Brian (O'Briens), Mac Maghthamhma (Mac Mahons), Mac Connara (Mac Namara), O'Deaghaidh (O'Deas), O'Cuinn (O'Quins), and their correlatives in the county of Clare.

k *King of Gabhran*.—See p. 40, note t.

l *Ten scings*.—*Sying*, "part of the trap-pings of a horse."—O'Reilly's Ir. Dict.

m *Two rings and two chess-boards*.—

Dr. O'Brien renders this "two cloaks and two suits of military array" (*Collectan.* p. 375); and in his Irish Dictionary he explains *Fithcheal*, "a full or complete armour, consisting of corselet, helmet, shield, buckler, and boots," &c. But this meaning of the word seems drawn merely from the stores of his own imagination, as it never

Ten steeds to the king of Ui Chonaill Ghabhra, and ten shields and ten swords and ten drinking-horns; and no hostage [is asked] from him except to swear by the hand of the king of Caiseal.

Seven steeds to the king of Ui Chairbre, and seven drinking-horns and seven swords and seven serving-youths and seven bondmen.

Eight drinking-horns to the hero [king] of Cliach, and eight swords and eight steeds, two rings and two chess-boards.

Seven steeds and seven drinking-horns and seven shields and seven swords to the king of Gleann Amhnach.

Eight steeds and eight swords and eight drinking-horns, with the office [of chief officer of trust] of a sovereign and monarch, to the king of the men of Uaithne.

Eight steeds to the king of Eile, eight shields and eight swords and eight drinking-horns and eight coats of mail.

Such are the stipends of the kings, as the poet said, i. e. Benean:

YE LEARNED OF MUMHA the great,  
If ye are mindful of the canon,  
Arise, and proclaim in his house  
The right of the king of Caiseal from his territories.

The first with him<sup>1</sup> into another country  
Belongs to the king of Dal Chais!—I will not conceal it;  
To take the rear of the king belongs to the Dal Chais of music,  
On coming from a strange land.

Ten steeds to the king of blue Gabhran<sup>\*</sup>  
From the king of Dala, and ten drinking-horns,  
Ten swords, ten shields, ten scings<sup>1</sup>,  
Two rings and two chess-boards<sup>m</sup>.

bore any meaning among the ancient or modern Irish, but a chess-board of a quadrangular form, marked with black and white spots. See Cormac's Glossary, *in voce*. O'Reilly, who copies O'Brien *verbatim* in too many of his explanations, has avoided this, but he gives us an additional

meaning for *piúceall*, namely, a "philosopher," a meaning which he inferred from Cormac's conjectural derivation of the term, which states that the black and white spots on the board had a mystical signification.—See the passage from Cormac, cited p. 85, note <sup>2</sup>, *suprà*.

Deich módaib, deich mná móra  
 acur deich (g)-cuinn chóimla,  
 menib leir Cairil na (g)-cachte,  
 deich n-eich do' níg Eoghanaet.

Ocht módaib, ocht mná dona  
 do níg Déir, ir deich longa,  
 ocht fceich, ocht (g)-claidim pé gum,  
 ir ocht n-gabha tar glar-muir.

Cúic eich, cúic macail co n-óir,  
 acur cúic cuinn pé cóimól,  
 cúic claidim pé cor each áir  
 do níg laechna h-Ua Liatháin.

Deich n-eich do níg Raichleano ruaid,  
 deich (g)-cuinn ó níg Cairil chruaid,

<sup>n</sup> *Ten horns, &c.*—Dr. O'Brien translates this "ten golden cups," but "golden" is added by himself.

<sup>o</sup> *Unless Caiseal belong to him*, i. e. when the king of Caiseal was of the Dal Chais. According to the Will of Oilioll Olum, the kings of Caiseal were to be alternately elected from the descendants of his sons, Eoghan Mor and Cormac Cas. In the early ages the stock of Mac Carthaigh (the Mac Carthys), O'Ceallachain (the O'Callaghans), and O'Donnchadha (the O'Donoghoes), were the chiefs of Eoghanacht Chaisil; but immediately before the English invasion the tribe of Mac Carthaigh were by far the most powerful of all the Eoghanachts. Dr. O'Brien says that "the O'Donoghoes of Eoghanacht Chaisil were of a different stock from those of Loch Lein" (*Collectan.* vol. i. p. 375); but in this he is undoubtedly mistaken, for the family of O'Donnchadha (O'Donoghoes) of Loch Lein were the most royal family of

that name in Munster, for their ancestor, Dnbh-da-bhoireann, who was slain in 957, was king of Munster, and his son Domhnall commanded the forces of south Munster (Desmond) at the battle of Cluain-tarbh, in 1014.

<sup>p</sup> *Deise.*—See p. 49, note <sup>k</sup>, and p. 66, note <sup>a</sup>, *supra*. It will again be observed that ships are presented to the chiefs of territories verging on the sea.

<sup>q</sup> *Across the sea*, i. e. imported. See p. 55, note <sup>z</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> *With gold*, i. e. ornamented with gold. O'Brien makes this "a sword and shield of the king's own wearing, one horse richly accoutred, and one embroidered cloak."—(*Collect.* vol. i. p. 378). There does not seem to be anything to warrant this translation.

<sup>s</sup> *Ui Liathain.*—This tribe derived their name and origin from Eochaidh Liathnach, the son of Daire Cearba. After the establishment of surnames, O'Liathain and O'h-Anmchadha were the chief families of

Ten bondmen, ten large women  
 And ten horns for carousing<sup>a</sup>,  
 Unless Caiseal of the prisons belong to him<sup>c</sup>,  
 Ten steeds to the king of the Eoghanachts.

Eight bondmen, eight brown-haired women  
 To the king of the Deise<sup>d</sup>, and ten ships,  
 Eight shields, eight swords for wounding,  
 And eight horses [brought] across the green sea<sup>e</sup>.

Five steeds, five matals with gold<sup>f</sup>,  
 And five horns for carousing,  
 Five swords for all slaughter  
 To the heroic king of Ui Liathain<sup>g</sup>.

Ten steeds to the king of red Raithlinn<sup>h</sup>,  
 Ten drinking-horns from the king of hardy Caiseal,

this tribe. After the English invasion their territory was granted to Robert Fitzstephen, who granted it to Philip de Barry, as appears from the confirmation charter of king John, who, in the eighth year of his reign, confirmed to William de Barry, the son and heir of this Philip, "the three cantreds of Olethan, Muscherie-Dunegan, and Killede." Now, we learn from Giraldus (Hib. Exp. lib. ii. c. 18, 19) that when Fitzstephen and Milo de Cogan came to a partition, by lot, of the seven cantreds granted them by Henry II., the three cantreds to the east of the city of Cork fell to Fitzstephen, and the four to the west fell to the lot of De Cogan. We know also from Irish history, that the present village of Castle-Lyons, or Caislean Ui Liathain, and the island called Oilean mor Arda Neimhidh, now the "Great Island," near Cork, were in Ui Liathain, which gives us a good idea of its position and even extent, and from these facts we may infer with certainty that the

three cantreds confirmed by King John, namely, "Olethan, Muscherie-Dunegan, and Killede," are included in the baronies of "Barrymore," "Kinatalloon," and "Imokilly," in the county of Cork, and "Coshmore" and "Coshbride" in that of Waterford. Harris asserts, in his edition of Ware's Antiquities, p. 50, that "Hy-Liathain is a territory in the south of the county of *Waterford*, in the barony of *Decies*, on the sea coast, opposite to Youghal. But this is unworthy of Harris, who ought to have known that "Olethan," which belonged first, after the Anglo-Norman invasion, to Fitzstephen, and passed from him to Barry, was not on the east side of the river of Eochaill (Youghall), but on the west, for in the charter of Henry II. to Robert Fitzstephen and Milo de Cogan, he grants them the lands "as far as the water near Lismore, which runs between Lismore and Cork."

<sup>a</sup> *King of Raithlinn*.—See p. 59, note <sup>k</sup>.

neich rcéith, neich (g)-claidim chalma,  
neich lúipeacha lán báda.

Seacht n-eich, seacht n-inair dearg,  
seacht (g)-coin pé cairthim realga,  
seacht lúipeacha il-ló gailli  
oo'n firi p'á m-bias Murcraoi.

Seacht (g)-claidim, seacht (g)-cuirn chama,  
seacht lúipeacha, seacht longa,  
seacht n-eich firi fargine fearc  
do rig Dairfine in deirceart.

Seacht (g)-coin firi corad n-áibí,  
seacht n-eich, a n-áipeam n-aile,  
seacht (g)-cuirn firi cairtheam firi  
do rig Dairbri in daig fleibí.

Seacht n-eich do rig Lacha Léin,  
seacht (g)-cuirn, seacht (g)-claidim do cén,  
seacht rcéith, a n-áipeam n-uataibí,  
seacht (g)-coin áilli a n-Irrluachair.

Seacht matail co m-buinibí d'ór,  
acur seacht (g)-cuirne firi cóimól,  
seacht n-eich, ní h-iarmanri bail,  
do rig Ciarrabí in choimlaim.

Seacht n-eich do laech in Léimí,  
seacht rcéith co rcéith na gíení,  
seacht (g)-claidim croma catha,  
seacht longa, seacht lúipeacha.

<sup>u</sup> *Muscraidhe*.—See p. 42, note <sup>v</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>v</sup> *Dairfhine*.—See p. 46, note <sup>z</sup>, on Corca Luighe, and p. 64, note <sup>u</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>w</sup> *Dairbhre*.—This should be Dairfhine: See p. 47, note <sup>e</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>x</sup> *Lock Lein*.—See p. 59, note <sup>l</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>y</sup> *Irrluachair*.—In O'h-Uidhrin's topo-

graphical poem, this territory is called Ur-luachair, and the country of O'Caoimh (O'Keeffe). Its position is marked by the crown lands of "Pobble O'Keeffe," situate in the barony of "Duhallow," on the confines of the counties of Cork, Limerick, and Kerry, and containing about 9,000

Ten shields, ten swords fit for war,  
Ten coats of mail full strong.

Seven steeds, seven red tunics,  
Seven hounds for the purpose of the chase,  
Seven coats of mail for the day of valour  
To the man under whom are the Muscraidhe<sup>a</sup>.

Seven swords, seven curved drinking-horns,  
Seven coats of mail, seven ships,  
Seven steeds bounding over hills  
To the king of Dairfhine<sup>v</sup> in the south.

Seven hounds to chase down stags,  
Seven steeds, in another enumeration,  
Seven drinking-horns for the banquet  
To the king of Dairbhre<sup>w</sup> (Dairfhine) of the good mountain.

Seven steeds to the king of Loch Lein<sup>x</sup>,  
Seven drinking-horns, seven swords [imported] from afar,  
Seven shields, at the smallest reckoning,  
Seven beautiful hounds in Irriuachair<sup>y</sup>.

Seven matals with ring-clasps of gold,  
And seven horns for carousing,  
Seven steeds, not used to falter,  
To the king of the Ciarraidhe<sup>z</sup> of the combat.

Seven steeds to the hero of the Leap<sup>a</sup>,  
Seven shields with the brightness of the sun,  
Seven curved swords of battle,  
Seven ships, seven coats of mail.

statute acres; but this territory was originally much more extensive, for we learn from Cormac's Glossary, *in voce*, that the mountains called Da Chloch Danann, now "the Pap mountains," were in this territory. See also Keating's History of Ireland, Haliday's Edit. p. 204.

<sup>z</sup> *Ciarraidhe*.—See p. 48, note <sup>f</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>a</sup> *Hero of the Leap*, i. e. king of Corca Bhaiscinn. He was so called from Leim Chonchulainn, now Loop-head (*rectius* Leap-head), the south-western extremity of his territory. Dr. O'Brien asserts, that the *Leim* here referred to is "Leim Con in

Sé h-eich do rí ġ Corcamruaó,  
 ré claidmí ré cippaó rluag,  
 ré cuirn, ré réicth fo ġeġa,  
 ré com áill, aen-ġela.

Deich n-eich do rí ġ h-Ua n-ġabhra,  
 veich réicth, veich (ġ)-claidmí chalma,  
 veich (ġ)-cuirn 'n-a óún ró déime,  
 cean ġéill uaó, cean eicéirí.

Seacht n-eich do rí ġ ġroġa-ríġ,  
 reacht (ġ)-cuirn ar a n-eġa fín,  
 reacht (ġ)-claidmí, ir cor ropaió,  
 reacht n-ġilla, reacht m-ban moġaió.

the west of Carberry, of which O'Driscoll  
 oge was chief."—(*Collect.* vol. i. p. 379).  
 But in this he is unquestionably wrong,  
 for the people next mentioned are the Cor-  
 cumruadh adjoining Corca Bhaiscinn on  
 the north. See p. 48, note 1, *supra*, and  
 p. 85, note 2, *infra*.

<sup>b</sup> *Corcumruadh* (Corcomroe).—See p.  
 65, note 2, *supra*.

<sup>c</sup> *Ui Ghabhra*, i.e. the Ui Chonail Ghabhra,  
 now the baronies of Conillo, in the west  
 of the county of Limerick. After the estab-  
 lishment of surnames, the chief families of  
 this race took the names of O'Coileain (Col-  
 lins), O'Cinphaelaidh (Kinealy), O'Flann-  
 abhra (Flannery), and Mac Inneirghe (Mac  
 Eniry). Dr. O'Brien says, (*Collect.* vol. i.  
 p. 377), "that Mac Ennery and O'Sheehan  
 of this race were descended from Mahon, an  
 elder brother of Brian Borumha." But for  
 this he had not sufficient authority, for, ac-  
 cording to the pedigrees of the Ui Fidhgheinte  
 (given in the Books of Leacan, and Baile-  
 an-mhota, and by Dubhaltach Mac Firbi-  
 sigh), and in O'h-Uidhrin's topographical  
 poem, Mac Inneirghe is set down as chief of

Corca Mhuichet, a sept of the Ui Fidhgheinte;  
 and the parish of "Castletown Mac Eniry"  
 in the south of the county of Limerick,  
 where he resided, is still called Corca Mhu-  
 ichet. The same inaccurate writer asserts  
 in his Irish Dictionary, *voce* Conall, that  
 "Conall Gabhra, from whom the country  
 of Ibh Conaill Gabhra derives its name,  
 was the ancestor of the stock of the O'Conels,  
 widely spread throughout the counties  
 of Limerick, Kerry, and Cork;" but this  
 is not supported by any authority; and,  
 besides, it contradicts what the same writer  
 says, in his Dissertation, &c. (*Collect.*  
 vol. i. p. 380), where it is asserted, that  
 "O'Shea, O'Connel, and O'Falvy are all  
 descended from Corc, son of Cairbre Musc,  
 son of Conaire, son of Mogh Laimhé, king  
 of Leath Chuinn." This latter statement is  
 nearly correct, according to the Irish ge-  
 nealogical books, but again, the same writer  
 (who appears to have had a bad memory)  
 calls this same Cairbre Musc, "one Cairbre  
 Mac, supposed son of a king of Meath in  
 the beginning of the third century, and of  
 whose progeny no account has ever been



Six steeds to the king of Corcumruadh<sup>b</sup>,  
 Six swords for the maiming of hosts,  
 Six drinking-horns, six shields he gets,  
 Six beautiful hounds, all-white.

Ten steeds to the king of Ui Ghabhra<sup>c</sup>,  
 Ten shields, ten swords fit for battle,  
 Ten drinking-horns in his protective fort,  
 Without hostages from him, without pledges.

Seven steeds to the king of Brugh-righ<sup>d</sup>,  
 Seven horns from which wine is drunk,  
 Seven swords, it is a happy engagement,  
 Seven serving-youths, seven bond-women.

given." See his Dictionary, *voce* Muiscrith. If the pedigrees of the O'Sheas, O'Falvys, and O'Connells are traced to him, *some* account has been given of his descendants.

<sup>a</sup> *King of Brugh-righ*, i. e. of the Ui Chairbre Aebhdha, who had their seat at Brugh-righ (Bruree), on the river Maigh (Maigue). Dr. O'Brien says, that "the king of Cairbre Aobhdha, who was O'Donovan, had his principal seat at Brugh-righ, and that his country was that now called Kenry, in the county of Limerick." (*Collect.* vol. i. p. 377). This assertion, which has been received as fact by all subsequent writers, is woefully incorrect, for "Kenry" is a small barony lying along the Shannon, in the north of the county of Limerick; whereas Brugh-righ, its supposed head-residence, is many miles distant from it, in the other end of the county. The fact is, that the country of the Ui Chairbre Aebhdha, of which O'Donnobhain was the chief, comprised the barony of "Coshma," the districts around "Bruree" and "Kilmallock" and the plains along the river Maigh (Maigue) on the west side, down to the Shannon. This appears from the traditions in the

county which state that O'Donnobhain resided at Brugh-righ, and Cromadh (Croom) on the river Maigh (Maigue); from the *Féilire Aenghus*, at 26th March, which places Cill Da Chealloc (Kilmallock), in Ui Chairbre; and from O'h-Uidhrin's topographical poem, which states that O'Donnobhain of Dun Chuiric (a name for Brugh-righ, as being one of the seats of Core, king of Munster) possessed, free of tribute, *gan cíor* the lands extending along the Maigh (Maigue), and the plains down to the Seannain (Shannon),—*na cláir píos co Stognainn*. See *the Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 340.

That Caenraidhe (Kenry) was a part of Ui Chairbre Aebhdha is highly probable, but we have the authority of O'h-Uidhrin to show that O'Maelchallainn (Mulholland), was the chief of Caenraidhe, and that near him was O'Bearga, in the district of Ui Rosa, (now the parish of Iveruss, *uis Rora*, on the Shannon, and in the barony of Kenry). These were sub-chiefs to O'Donnobhain as chief of all Ui Fidhgheinte, as he frequently was, and perhaps as chief of Ui Chairbre Aebhdha also.

Seacht (g)-cuinn do churaid Aine,  
 reacht (g)-claidim,—ní cor cáidí,  
 reacht n-eich do'n laech rin pé lino,  
 dá fálaig ir dá fíechill.

Seacht n-eich, reacht (g)-cuinn do'n laech luach,  
 do pí puipeach na (b)-Forthuath,  
 reacht rcéith, réct (g)-claidim i (g)-cach  
 beapap do rí g Gleann Amhnach.

Seacht n-eich do pí na n-Uathni,  
 reacht (g)-claidim, ir cor tuathli,  
 reacht (g)-cuinn dia n-dámaib o'án oíl  
 beith a n-grádaib an áirb-rig.

Ocht n-eich do rí g Ele in óir,  
 ocht rcéith, ocht (g)-claidim ir cóir,  
 oét (g)-cuinn, nor congaid ac fleid,  
 ocht lúneacha il-ló garaid.

\* *Hero of Aine*, i. e. the king or chief of Eoghanacht Aine Cliach. See p. 39, note 1, *suprà*.

† *King of the Forthuatha*, i. e. the king of Fears Muighe, i. e. the tribe of O'Dubhagain (O'Dugans), descended from the celebrated druid Mogh Ruith, and here called Forthuatha, as being strangers placed centrally between the Ui Fidhgheinte and the Eoghanachts of Gleann Amhnach, who were two tribes of the royal blood of Oilioll Olum.

‡ *King of Gleann Amhnach*, i. e. of Eoghanacht Gleanna Amhnach. This was the country of a branch of the tribe of O'Caoimh (O'Keeffes), comprising the country about Gleann Amhnach, Glanworth, barony of Fermoy, Cork. Before the English invasion, O'Caoimh and O'Dubhagain possessed the regions now called "Fermoy, Condons, and

Clangibbons;" but the boundary between them (O'Keeffe and O'Dugan) could not now be determined; all we know is, that O'Dubhagain was between O'Caoimh and the Ui Fidhgheinte, and consequently to the north of them. After the English invasion the country of Fears Muighe Feine was granted to Fleming, from whom it passed, by marriage, to the Roches, and it is now usually called Criche Roisteach, or Roche's country.

§ *Uathne*.—See p. 45, note 2, *suprà*.

¶ *Eile*.—This was the name of a tribe and an extensive territory, all in the ancient Mumha or Munster. They derived the name from Eile, the seventh in descent from Cian, the son of Oilioll Olum. According to O'h-Uidhrin, this territory was divided into eight "tuatha," ruled by eight petty chiefs, over whom O'Cearbhaill (O'Carroll)

Seven drinking horns to the hero of Aine,  
 Seven swords—not an engagement to be violated,  
 Seven steeds to that hero during his time,  
 Two rings and two chess-boards.

Seven steeds, seven drinking-horns to the swift hero,  
 To the lordly king of the Forthuathaf,  
 Seven shields, seven swords in battle  
 Are given to the king of Gleann Amhnach.

Seven steeds to the king of the men of Uaithne<sup>b</sup>,  
 Seven swords, it is a wise covenant,  
 Seven drinking-horns to their companies to whom it is due  
 To be in office under the monarch.

Eight steeds to the king of Eile<sup>c</sup> of the gold,  
 Eight shields, eight swords are due,  
 Eight drinking-horns, to be used at the feast,  
 Eight coats of mail in the day of bravery.

was head or king. The ancient Eile (Ely) comprised the whole of Eile Uí Chearbhaill (Ely O'Carroll) which is now included in the King's county, and comprises the baronies of Clonlisk and Ballybritt; also the baronies of Ikerrin and Elyogarty, in the county of Tipperary. The boundary between "Ely O'Carroll" and the ancient Midhe (Meath) is determined by that of the diocese of Killaloe with the diocese of Meath, for that portion of the King's county which belongs to the diocese of Killaloe was "Ely O'Carroll," and originally belonged to Munster. The other portions of the original Eile, such as "Ikerrin" and "Elyogarty," were detached from O'Cearbhaill, shortly after the English invasion, and added to "Ormond;" but the native chieftains O'Meachair (O'Meagher) and O'Fogartaigh (O'Fogarty), were left in possession, but subject to the Earl

of Ormond. Sir Charles O'Carroll, in his letter to the Lord Deputy in 1595, asserts, that "the Earl of Ormond had no right to any part of the country lying north of Barnane Ely" (now the Devil's Bit mountain), but this cedes him "Elyogarty," which appears to have been his indisputable property since the time of Edward III. According to O'h-Uidhrin, O'Fogartaigh, the chief of the southern Eile, i.e. Eile Fhogartaigh (Elyogarty) is not of the race of the Eleans, but descended from Eochaidh Baildearg (king of Thomond in St. Patrick's time); from which we may perceive that the southern Eile had been wrested from the original proprietors before the English invasion by a sept of the Dal Chaia, but nothing has been yet discovered to determine when or how the ancestors of the family of O'Fogartaigh obtained it.

Ac rin tuairpeal each riḡ  
 ó riḡ Cairil co (ḡ)-céat rinim;  
 lám deneoin ro thairiḡ rin;  
 leariḡ acas a eolaiḡ... **Α ΕΟΛΑΙḡ ΜΥΜΑΝ.**

**ΩΛΙḡΕΑΩ** ocur foḡail na (v)-tuairpeal rin beor ano ro ó riḡ  
 Cairil do riḡailb tuath acur móp thuath, iar rochar a (b)-forba  
 acur a (ḡ)-ceneoil, a feib óliḡiḡ acur dúchura; acur ar rochar  
 ḡráḡ acur dílmáine, ar méas a nire acur a (b)-forlámair, acur ar  
 línmairi a (b)-fechta acur a plóíḡiḡ, acur ar roiriḡi acur ar roḡ-  
 riáí, acur ar rinorepi acur cómairi<sup>100</sup>, fono acur féḡra, ir fóiehiḡ  
 rin miḡiehi<sup>101</sup> a (v)-tuairpela dóib, ar rliḡe ruas acur reanáura<sup>102</sup>,  
 ar bepe denén ano ro :

**ΑΤΑ SUNO** reanchar, ruairc rreath,  
 bír aini<sup>103</sup> minab eolach;  
 tuairpeal riḡ Cairil chóir  
 v'á riḡailb caeina a (ḡ)-céatóir.

**Τράχ** nach (m)-bia riḡi ac Dál Cair cóp<sup>104</sup>  
 for élandailb Eoḡain áro, móir<sup>105</sup>,  
 leath-ḡuala riḡ Cairil chain  
 ḡiḡ imḡa v'á aigeaḡailb<sup>106</sup>.

**Deich** (ḡ)-cuirn co n-ór each samna,  
 tricha claiḡeam, cor aini<sup>107</sup>,  
 tricha each álaino ille<sup>107</sup>  
 vo riḡ Dál Cair cúl-ḡuioḡe<sup>108</sup>.

**Óliḡiḡ** ní Orpaiḡi éin,  
 ó dóib riḡailb, a ró réir<sup>109</sup>,  
 in each bliáḡna v'á baile<sup>110</sup>  
 v'á thuairpeal toḡaiḡe.

**Óliḡiḡ** ó riḡ Teamra thuaiḡ<sup>111</sup>  
 ní Orpaiḡi co n-áro ḡuaiḡ  
 deich reirh acur deich (ḡ)-claiḡim  
 ir deich n-eich tap móp moiriḡiḡ<sup>112</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> *Dal Chais*.—See p. 70, note 1, *supra*.

<sup>l</sup> *Eoghan*.—He was the brother of Cor-

mac Cas, and ancestor of the *Ui Fidhgheinte*  
 and all the *Eoghanachts*.

Such is the stipend of each king  
 From the king of Caiseal with the hundred powers;  
 The hand of Benean it was that shaped that;  
 Inculcate it ye learned. . . . . YE LEARNED OF MUMHA.

THE LAW and distribution of these stipends further here from the king of Caiseal to the kings of his districts (stranger tribes) and great territories, according to the revenues of their lands and family, according to law and inheritance; and it is according to deserts of their office and fealty, to the greatness of their strength and superiority, and to the number of their expeditions and hostings, and to their prosperity and affluence, and to seniority and counsel, foundation and excellence, that these stipends are apportioned among them, on the authority of the learned and of history, as Benean says here:

THERE IS HERE the history, pleasant the series,  
 Which thou knowest not unless learned;  
 The stipends of the just king of Caiseal  
 To his fair kings in the first place.

When the just Dal Chais<sup>k</sup> have not the sovereignty  
 Over the race of the high, great Eoghan<sup>l</sup>,  
 [Their king] sits by the shoulder (side) of the king of Caiseal  
 Though many be his guests.

Ten drinking-horns [ornamented] with gold each Samhain<sup>m</sup>,  
 Thirty swords, a good covenant,  
 Thirty beautiful steeds hither  
 To the king of Dal Chais of yellow hair.

The active king of the Osraidhe<sup>n</sup> is entitled [to have]  
 From two kings, as his full claim,  
 Every year at his house  
 Two choice stipends [that is to say]:

Entitled from the king of north Teamhair  
 Is the king of the Osraidhe of great prerogatives  
 To ten shields and ten swords  
 And ten steeds across the great plains:

<sup>m</sup> *Samhain*, i. e. the first of November.

<sup>n</sup> *Osraidhe*.—See p. 59, note <sup>l</sup>.

Dlígió ó riú Cairil éruaió<sup>13</sup>  
 áirb-riú Oirraioi co m-buaió<sup>14</sup>  
 deich rdeich ir deich (g)-claióim chóir<sup>15</sup>  
 acur dá fálaig dearg óir.

Tuairteol ní na n-Déirí  
 ó riú Cairil ao gléir<sup>16</sup>  
 claióim co n-óir, each ir blaó<sup>17</sup>  
 acur long fá lán-feolaó.

Dlígió tuairteal, can táir<sup>18</sup>.  
 ní lán laechoa<sup>19</sup> Ua Liachán,  
 rciath riú Cairil, claióim, coin<sup>20</sup>,  
 each ir eirioi ear áir moir.

Dlígió oir-riú Muigi Fian  
 each ó riú Cairil, ir rrian,  
 dliú rciath ir claióim, coin<sup>21</sup>,  
 ní Fear-Muigi co móir góil.

Clano Chairpí Murc, móir a m-blaó  
 dliú a riú tuairteal  
 rciath riú Cairil co n-déirí,  
 a each 'r-a chú coin-éillí.

Dlígió riú Raichleand co rath  
 ir tréan móir in tuairteal,  
 deich (g)-claióim acur deich (g)-cuirí,  
 deich m-bruit éorera, deich m-bruit guirí.

Dlígió ní Dairfine uirio  
 ó ní Cairil in chómlaino

<sup>13</sup> *Two rings of red gold.*—This establishes the meaning of *falach*.

<sup>14</sup> *Deise.*—See p. 49, note <sup>k</sup>, *supra*.

<sup>15</sup> *Uí Liathain.*—See p. 72, note <sup>k</sup>, *supra*.

<sup>16</sup> *Brought across the high sea*, i. e. a steed and battle-dress imported.

<sup>17</sup> *Magh Fian*, i. e. of Fera Mhuighe, now

"Fermoy," in the county of Cork. After the establishment of surnames, the chief of this territory took the name of O'Dubhagain (O'Dugan), from Dubhagan, the descendant of the druid Mogh Ruith, who was of the same race as O'Conchubhair Ciaraidhe (O'Conor Kerry). Of the race of

Entitled from the hardy king of Caiseal

Is the noble king of the Osraidhe as a prerogative

To ten shields and ten swords

And two rings of red gold<sup>4</sup>.

The stipend of the king of the Deise<sup>p</sup>

Given from the king of Caiseal

[Is] a sword [adorned] with gold [hilt], a steed with renown

And a ship under full rigging.

Entitled to stipend, not contemptible,

Is the full-heroic king of Ui Liathain<sup>q</sup>,

To the shield of the king of Caiseal, a sword, a hound,

A steed and trappings across the high sea<sup>r</sup>.

Entitled is the petty-king of Magh Fian<sup>s</sup>

To a steed from the king of Caiseal, and a bridle;

Entitled to a shield and sword [and] hound

Is the king of Feara Mhuighe of great prowess.

The race of Cairbre Musc<sup>t</sup>, great their renown,

Their king is entitled to a stipend,

The shield of the vehement king of Caiseal,

His steed and his hound from his hound-leash.

The prosperous king of Raithlinn<sup>u</sup> is entitled

To a very great stipend;

Ten swords and ten drinking-horns,

Ten red cloaks, ten blue cloaks.

The king of the brown Dairfhine<sup>v</sup> is entitled

From the king of Caiseal of the battles

this druid, who was a native of Dairbhre, now the island of Valentia, in Kerry, was Cuanna Mac Cailchíne, chief of Feara Mhuighe, in the seventh century, who was as celebrated for hospitality and munificence in Munster as Guaire Aidhne was in Connacht; and of his race also were the saints Mochuille and Molaga, to whom

several churches in Munster have been dedicated.

<sup>t</sup> *The race of Cairbre Musc*, i. e. the Muscraídh. See as to these tribes, p. 42, note <sup>v</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>u</sup> *Raithlinn*.—See p. 59, note <sup>k</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>v</sup> *Dairfhine*, i. e. of Corca Luighe. See p. 46, note <sup>a</sup>, *suprà*.

## Leabhar

epí claidmí comblí dacha,  
epí longa, epí lúipeacha.

Tuairteal pí Druing, nach oir,  
ó piḡ Eriuo,—ní bimir,  
epí claidmí cama caela,  
ir epí longa<sup>122</sup> lán-éaemá.

Tuairteal piḡ Uacha Léin  
ó piḡ Eriuo co n-áipio mén,  
beich n-gábra donna dacha<sup>123</sup>,  
beich longa, beich lúipeacha.

Tuairteal piḡ Feorna Flaino  
ó uib Áililla Olaim,  
beich n-eich ap na n-gléar do'n ḡraio<sup>124</sup>  
'r-a chochall peang rrolleatig<sup>125</sup>.

Tuairteol piḡ Léim in Chion  
ó piḡ Chairil,—ir caem chop,  
a long oingbála dachach,  
each, claidéam, corpn cóim-pumach<sup>126</sup>.

Tuairteol piḡ Gabráin<sup>127</sup> glain  
ó piḡ móp Múman meadóir<sup>128</sup>,  
cém for (ḡ)aeli<sup>129</sup> 'n-a thig thpuim,  
oligib in piḡ a leath-gualainn<sup>130</sup>.

Ir in epáth céio dia thig fén  
oligib each ir eppio<sup>131</sup> éim,  
acur in lin oo théio<sup>132</sup> roir  
each ir eppio<sup>133</sup> cach én píp.

Tuairteol piḡ Droḡa-piḡ<sup>134</sup>  
ó piḡ Eriuo can miḡnín,

<sup>122</sup> *King of Drung*.—Drung is a conspicuous hill in the north of the barony of "Iveragh," put here for the country of the race of the monarch Conaire Mor, in "Kerry." See p. 64, line 12, *suprà*.

<sup>123</sup> *Loch Lein*.—See p. 17, note <sup>122</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>124</sup> *Feorainn Floinn*.—This was another name of the Ciarraidhe, from their ancestor, Flann Feorna, i. e. Flann of the shore. See p. 48, note <sup>123</sup>, *suprà*.



To three swords of flaming brightness,  
To three ships, three coats of mail.

The stipend of the king of Drung<sup>a</sup>, which is not small,  
From the king of Eire—'tis not contemptible,  
Three curved narrow swords  
And three ships very beautiful.

The stipend of the king of Loch Lein<sup>a</sup>  
From the king of Eire of noble mind,  
Ten horses of bay colour,  
Ten ships, ten coats of mail.<sup>a</sup>

The stipend of the king of Feorainn Floinn<sup>a</sup>  
From the sons of Oilíoll Olum,  
Ten caparisoned steeds out of the stud  
And his own graceful satin cochal.

The stipend of the king of Leim na Con<sup>a</sup>  
From the king of Caiseal,—a fair condition,  
His own befitting beauteous ship,  
A steed, a sword, a trophy drinking-horn.

The stipend of the king of fair Gabhran<sup>a</sup>  
From the king of great and merry Munster,  
A pleasing distinction in his crowded house,  
This king is entitled to sit by his side.

And at the time he [Caiseal] goes to his own [Gabhran's] house  
He [Gabhran] is entitled to a steed and trappings too,  
And of the number who go [with Caiseal] eastward  
A steed and dress for every man.

The stipend of the king of Brugh-righ<sup>b</sup>  
From the king of Eire without sorrow,

<sup>a</sup> *The king of Leim an Chon*, now always Leim na Con (i. e. fem.) *Salvus Cuoni*, the king of Corca Bhaiscinn, in the south-west of the county of Clare, not of Leim Cou, in Carbery, as asserted by

O'Brien. See p. 48, note <sup>c</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>a</sup> *King of Gabhran*.—See p. 59, note <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> *The king of Brugh-righ (Arx regis)*, i. e. of Uí Chairbre Aelhdha. See p. 77, note <sup>d</sup>, *suprà*.

beich n-mair, donna dearg,  
 ir beich n-goill can Gaedelga<sup>125</sup>.

Tuairteol níg Aine áir  
 ó ní Cairil claidim gearg,  
 a<sup>126</sup> ríath ir a claidéam glé<sup>127</sup>,  
 tricha bó cach Dealltaine.

Tuairteol níg na n-Uathne  
 ó níg Cairil<sup>128</sup>—ir tuairte<sup>129</sup>,  
 ré ríath ir ré claidim cáin  
 i ré h-eith i n-a ríathnib<sup>130</sup>.

Ólígíó níg Araó co n-aib  
 ó níg Eirín aigeaó chaín  
 ré claidim, ré ríath molta  
 i ré<sup>131</sup> leana lán-córcra.

Tuairteol níg Eilín óir<sup>132</sup>  
 ó níg Cairil in chórnóil  
 ré ríath i ré claidim chaín,  
 ré módaíó, ré ban módaíó<sup>133</sup>.

Ólígíó, nó bíó ollamh áin,  
 a<sup>134</sup> ríath Mac Cuilindán<sup>135</sup>,—  
 ní ríath bec inomí ré lá<sup>136</sup>,—  
 cach aen 'g-á m-bia ro mar tá. . ATÁ[SUND].

DO PORTAÍÓ níg Cairil [a Muíman] ann ro .i. órug-níg acur  
 Muilchead<sup>137</sup> acur Seanchua Chain acur Ror Raeva acur Cluain  
 Uaima acur Cathair Chnuir acur Cathair Fínoabpach, Cathair  
 Thuairgí, Cathair Glenn Amnach, Cathair Chinn Chon, Dún Fír  
 Aen Cholca, Cathair Methair, [dún n-Íair], Teamair Suíá,  
 Aíó Díli, Aenac m-deappáin, Mag Cailli, Aíó Conaill, Aíó  
 Mic Conaill<sup>138</sup>, Aíó Ruíó, Tuairceart Maigí, Mag Saíre, na trí  
 h-Aírne ar muir máir, Aenach Cairpí, Óruim Mór, Óruim

<sup>c</sup> *Without Gaedhealga* (Gaelic or Irish),  
 i. e. foreign slaves or servants who could  
 not speak Irish. This is very curious.

<sup>d</sup> *King of noble Aine*, i. e. king of Eogh-  
 anacht Aine Cliach, which country lay  
 round the conspicuous hill of Cnoc Aine

Ten tunics, brown red,  
And ten foreigners without Gaedhealga<sup>c</sup> [Irish].

The stipend of the king of noble Aine<sup>d</sup>  
From the king of Caiseal of the terrific sword,  
His shield and his bright sword,  
Thirty cows each May-day.

The stipend of the king of the Uaithne<sup>e</sup>  
From the king of Caiseal—it is wise,  
Six shields and six fine swords  
And six steeds of the choicest.

The king of Ara<sup>f</sup> of beauty is entitled  
From the king of Eire of the comely face  
To six swords, six praised shields  
And six mantles of deep purple.

The stipend of the king of Eile<sup>f</sup> of the gold  
From the king of Caiseal of the banquets,  
Six shields and six bright swords,  
Six bondmen, six bondwomen.

Be he sage, or be he distinguished ollamh,  
He has the support of Mac Cuileannain<sup>g</sup>,—  
Not a man of small wealth is he in his day [He must be professor in his day],—  
He who maintains this [system] as it is. THERE IS HERE.

OF THE SEATS of the king of Caiseal in Mumha here, i. e. Brugh-righ and Muilthead and Seanchua Chaein and Ros Raeda and Cluain Uamha and Cathair Chnuis and Cathair Fhinnabhrach, Cathair Thuaighe, Cathair Ghleanna Amhnach, Cathair Chinn Chon, Dun Fir Aen Cholca, Cathair Meathais, Dun Gair, Teamhair Shubha, Ard Bile, Aenach m-Bearrain, Magh Caille, Ard Chonaill, Ard Mic Connainn, Ard Ruidhe, Tuaisceart Muighe, Magh Saire, the three Aras in the great sea, Aenach Chairpre, Druim Mor, Druim Caein, Cathair

(Knockany) in the barony of Small County, county of Limerick.—See p. 67, note <sup>b</sup>, and p. 78, note <sup>e</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>c</sup> *Uaithne*.—See p. 45, note <sup>x</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>f</sup> *Ara, Eile*.—See p. 46, note <sup>z</sup>, and p. 78, note <sup>1</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>g</sup> *Mac Cuileannain*.—See p. 61, nn. <sup>m</sup> and <sup>n</sup>, and see the Introduction.

Caín, Cathair Chuir, Mur-bolcan, Feibhne, Thapann, Ail Mic  
Cuir, Maḡ Nai, Maḡ n-Earbhan<sup>146</sup>, h-Uacht-maḡ, Caechán<sup>147</sup>  
dóirne, Mur-maḡ, Maḡ n-Eanaiḡ, Tuaim n-Eatáin, Maḡ n-Arail<sup>148</sup>,  
Eibliu, Ucht-na-piḡna, Cuilleann, Cua, Clairi, Inbeoin, Aine,  
Ordo, Uilleand Eatan, Loch Ceand<sup>149</sup>, Ceand Nathpach, Rapand,  
Druim Caín, Druim Fingín, Tréasa-na-piḡ<sup>150</sup>, Ráith Eir<sup>151</sup>, Ráith  
Faclaó, Ráit Árhoa<sup>152</sup>, Ráith Droma Deilgi<sup>153</sup>, Deannepaigi, Crec-  
puidi, Orbpuidi acur h-Ua Chuirb<sup>154</sup>; conaó dóib po cheat in bpeo  
[buaó] denén:

ARA FEASADAIR a n-ḡoir  
éaic Fearḡura Scanoail?  
tachub: ab beir a feara<sup>157</sup>  
ó Eoraid co Dúmaig<sup>158</sup> n-Dreara.

Eiric Fearḡura in piḡ,  
icir feota<sup>159</sup> acur tír;  
nir bo beg leo i<sup>160</sup> n-a ḡuin  
Laigin deap-ḡabair co muir. [1. Or̃.—B. in marg.]

Do chirt Chairil co n-a bpiḡ  
Driḡ-piḡ acur Muilchea<sup>161</sup> mán,  
Seanchua chain, Ror Raeba<sup>162</sup> peil,  
acur leir<sup>163</sup> Cluain Uaria án.

Cathair Chnuir, Cathair Fínoabpach,  
Cothair Thuairḡi<sup>164</sup> co n-a báil,

<sup>146</sup> *Fearghus Scannal*.—See next note.

<sup>147</sup> *From the Eoir to Dumha Dreasa*.—  
The tract of land extending from the River  
"Nore" (an Eoir or an Fheoir) to a mound  
near Cnoc Grafann (Knockgraffon), Tip-  
perary. This comprises the greater part of  
the ancient Ossory, which was called Laigh-  
in Deas-ghabhair by the ancient Irish, and  
said to have been forfeited to Munster by  
the Lagenians for their murder of Fearghus  
Scannal; or, according to other accounts, of  
Eidirsceal, the father of the monarch Conaire  
Mor. See *Book of Leacan*, fol. 225, b.; 229 b.

<sup>148</sup> *Brugh-riḡh*, i. e. *Arx regis* (Bruree),

on the west bank of the River Maigh  
(Maigue), in the barony of Upper Connello  
and county of Limerick, about four miles  
to the north of Kilmallock. There are ex-  
tensive ruins of earthen forts here, said by  
tradition to have been erected by Oilíoll  
Olum, the ancestor of the O'Donovans.  
There are also the ruins of a circular wall  
defended with square towers. The circular  
wall is evidently very ancient, and is said  
by tradition to have been built by an O'Don-  
nobhain, before the English invasion; but  
the square towers are evidently several  
centuries more modern, and are said to

Chuire, Mur-bolcan, Geibhtine, Grafann, Aill Mic Cuirr, Magh Naei, Magh n-Edarbane, Uacht-magh, Caechan Boirne, Mur-mhagh, Magh n-Eanaigh, Tuaim n-Eatain, Magh n-Asail, Eibliu, Ucht-na-rioghna, Cuilleann, Cua, Claire, Inneoin, Aine, Ord, Uilleann Eatan, Loch Ceann, Ceann Nathrach, Rafann, Druim Caein, Druim Finghin, Treada-na-righ, Raith Eirc, Raith Faeladh, Raith Arda, Raith Droma Deilge, Beanntraidhe, Greagraidhe, Orbhraidhe and Ui Chuirb; of which the gifted luminary [flamma sacra] Benean sang:

KNOWEST THOU what is called  
The eric of Fearghus Scannal<sup>b</sup>?  
I know it: I will give a knowledge of it  
From the Eoir to Dumha Dreasa<sup>1</sup>.

The eric of Fearghus the king,  
Both in jewels and territory;  
They obtained in full satisfaction for his death  
South Laighin even to the sea.

Of the right of Caiseal in its power  
Are Brugh-righ<sup>h</sup> and the great Muilhead<sup>1</sup>,  
Seanchua<sup>m</sup> the beautiful, Ros Raeda<sup>n</sup> the bright,  
And to it belongs the noble [fort of] Cluain Uamha<sup>o</sup>.

Cathair Chnuis<sup>p</sup>, Cathair Fhionnabhrach<sup>q</sup>,  
Cathair Thuaighe<sup>r</sup> with its appurtenance

have been erected by that branch of the famous family of Lacy or De Lacy, descended from William Gorm, the son of Sir Hugh De Lacy, by the daughter of Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair (Roderic O'Conor), the last monarch of all Ireland of the Milesian race. Brugh-righ is mentioned the first in order in this list, as it was the principal seat of Oilíoll Olum, the ancestor of the kings and dominant families of Munster.

<sup>1</sup> *Muilhead*.—Muilchea, now applied to a river in the north-west of the county of Limerick, is a corruption of this name.

<sup>m</sup> *Seanchua*, *Anglicè* "Shanhoe," in the

county of Limerick.

<sup>n</sup> *Ros Raeda*.—Unknown to the Ed.

<sup>o</sup> *Cluain Uamha*, i. e. the Lawn or Meadow of the Cave, *Anglicè* "Cloyne," the head of an ancient bishop's see, in the county of Cork.

<sup>p</sup> *Cathair Chnuis*.—Unknown to the Ed.

<sup>q</sup> *Cathair-Fhionnabhrach*.—This is the name of a remarkable stone fort, of the kind called "Cyclopean," near the village of Cill Fionnabhrach (Kilfenora), in the county of Clare, also the head of an ancient diocese.

<sup>r</sup> *Cuthair Thuaighe*.—Unidentified.

Cathair Ghleann Amhnach<sup>165</sup>, Cathair Chinn Chonn,  
Dún Fíir Aen Cholga, Dún n-Ġair.

Cathair Meathair, Teamhair SuĠa,  
Air Bili<sup>166</sup> mair, maíneach; ruad,  
Aenach m-Ġeapán<sup>167</sup>, MaĠ Cailli caín,  
Aro Conaill, fá Ġomair chuan<sup>168</sup>.

Aro Mic Conaill<sup>169</sup>, la h-Aro Ruioi,  
Tuairceart MaĠi, muíneach clár<sup>170</sup>,  
MaĠ Saip<sup>171</sup>, ro reasad airne,  
la teora Airne ar muir mair<sup>172</sup>.

Aenach Cairppir, Opuim Mór, Opuim Caín,  
Cathair Chuirc for aic<sup>173</sup> muir,  
Murb-bolcan<sup>174</sup>, Ġeibteine, Ġrapano  
Ir ler uili, Aill Mic Cuip<sup>175</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Cathair Ghleanna Amhnach*, i.e. the stone fort of Gleann Amhnach, which is the ancient and real name of "Glanworth," in "Roche's country," in the north of the county of Cork. See Smith's Natural and Civil History of Cork, book ii, c. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Cathair Chinn Chon*, *Anglicè* "Caher-kincon," a (Cyclopean) stone fort near Rockbarton, the seat of Lord Guillamore, in the barony of Small County, and county of Limerick. There are extensive remains of such stone forts in this immediate neighbourhood, which indicate its having been anciently a place of importance.

<sup>3</sup> *Dun Fíir Aen Cholga*.—Unidentified.

<sup>4</sup> *Dun Gair*.—This fort was on the hill of "Doon," over Loch Gair (Lough Gur), barony of Small County, Limerick. See Fitzgerald's Stat. Acc. Limerick. This hill and lake were fortified by Brian Borumha, in the tenth century.

<sup>5</sup> *Cathair Meathais*.—This was probably the ancient name of the great (Cyclopean) fortress now called Cathair na Steige

(Stague Fort), situated in the parish of Kilerohane, barony of Dunkerron, in the county of Kerry. See Vall. *Collect.* vol. vi., and Baron Foster's model in the Museum of the Dublin Society.

<sup>6</sup> *Teamhair Shubha*.—This was probably another name for Teamhair Luachra, which was the name of a fort near Beal Atha na Teamhrach, in the parish of Dysart, near Castle Island, in the county of Kerry.

<sup>7</sup> *Air Bile*, or, as it is written in the prose, Ard Bili, i. e. the height or hill of the tree. There is a place of this name near "Bally-mack-elligott," in the barony of Clanmaurice, and county of Kerry.

<sup>8</sup> *Aenach m-Bearrain*.—Perhaps the fort N. by W. of Barrane, four miles E. of Kilrush, in Clare.

<sup>9</sup> *MaĠ Caille*.—Unknown to the Ed.

<sup>10</sup> *Ard Chonaill*, i. e. the height or hill of Conall.—Unknown to the Editor.

<sup>11</sup> *Ard Mic Conaill, Ard Ruidhe, Tuaisceart Muighe, MaĠ Saire*. These places, being mentioned immediately before the

Cathair Ghleanna Amhnach<sup>a</sup>, Cathair Chinn Chon<sup>t</sup>,  
Dun Fir Aen Cholga<sup>u</sup>, Dun Gair<sup>r</sup>.

Cathair Meathais<sup>w</sup>, Teamhair Shubha<sup>s</sup>,  
Air Bile<sup>r</sup>, the great, wealthy, red,  
Aenach m-Bearrain<sup>a</sup>, the beautiful Magh Caille<sup>a</sup>,  
Ard Chonaill<sup>b</sup>, the meeting place of hosts.

Ard Mic Conaill<sup>c</sup>, with Ard Ruidhe<sup>c</sup>,  
Tuaisceart Muighe<sup>c</sup>, wealthy plain,  
Magh Saire<sup>c</sup>, worthy of reckoning,  
With the three Aras<sup>d</sup> in the great sea.

Aenach Cairpre<sup>e</sup>, Druim Mor<sup>f</sup>, Druim Caein<sup>g</sup>,  
Cathair Chuir<sup>h</sup> close to the sea,  
Mur-bolcan<sup>i</sup>, Geibhtine<sup>k</sup>, Grafann<sup>l</sup>  
All belong to it, [and] Aill Mic Cuirr<sup>m</sup>.

Aras, are evidently in the county of Clare, but the Editor has not identified them.

<sup>d</sup> *The three Aras*, i. e. the three islands of Ara (Arann) in the Bay of Galway, which originally belonged to Corcumruadh. The largest of these islands was granted by Aenghus, king of Munster, to St. Eanna, who built several churches upon it. For some account of the forts on these islands, see O'Flaherty's *Iar-Connacht*, by Hardiman, pp. 77, 78.

<sup>e</sup> *Aenach Cairpre*, i. e. the fair of the territory of Cairbre. This is the place now called Mainister an Aenaigh, *Anglicè* Mannisteranenagh, i. e. the Monastery of the Fair, from a great monastery erected by the Ui Bhriain (O'Briens), a short time previous to the English invasion. It is situated in the barony of "Pubblebrian," in the county of Limerick.

<sup>f</sup> *Druim Mor*, i. e. the great ridge. This is probably the Dromore near Mallow.

<sup>g</sup> *Druim Caein*, i. e. *dorsum amenum*, "Drumkeen," but which of the many places

so called, in Munster, has not been determined.

<sup>h</sup> *Cathair Chuire*, i. e. the stone fort of Corc; probably the ancient name of Cathair-gheal, a great fort near Cahersiveen.

<sup>i</sup> *Mur-bolcan*, i. e. the inlet "Trabolgan," east of the entrance of Cork harbour.

<sup>k</sup> *Geibhtine*, now Eas Geibhtine (Askeaton), on the Daeil (Deal).

<sup>l</sup> *Grafann*, now Cnoc Grafann, *Anglicè* Knockgraffon, a townland giving name to a parish in the barony of Middlethird and county of Tipperary. There is a very large moat here surrounded by a fosse. This was the principal seat of the Ui Suileabhain (O'Sullivans), till the year 1192, when they were driven thence by the English, who erected a castle close to the moat. For some historical references to this place the reader is referred to Keating's *History of Ireland*, reign of Cormac mac Airt, and the *Annals of the Four Masters*, A. D. 1192.

<sup>m</sup> *Aill Mic Cuirr*, i. e. the cliff of Mac Cuirr. Unknown to the Editor.

Mağ Naí<sup>176</sup>, Mağ n-Eabha, Uacht-mağ<sup>177</sup>,  
 Caechan Dóirni, buan in póo do'n riğ<sup>178</sup>,  
 Mup-mağ máp, Mağ n-Eanaig Rora,  
 Tuaim n-Eidhin<sup>179</sup>, a bp do éir.

Aral, Eibhleo, Ucht-na-riğna,  
 in muir im a lina lopp,  
 Cuilleand ip Cua ip Cláiri,  
 Inneoin acur Aine ip Opo.

h-Uilleand Etan [ip] Loch Ceano,  
 Ceand Nathpach, alca Rapann, ip a píp<sup>180</sup>  
 Opuim Eain, Opuim Fingín feða<sup>181</sup>,  
 ip leir cíó Tréada-na-riğ.

▪ *Magh Naci, &c.*—These, which were names of plains on which the king of Munster had forts, are unidentified.

• *Caechan Boirne.*—This was the name of a fort in Boirinn (Burren), in the county of Clare, where, though there are countless (Cyclopean) forts, there is none bearing this name at present.

▪ *Mur-mhagh, i. e. sea plain.*—This is probably "Murvy," in the great Island of Ara.

▪ *Magh Eanaigh Rosa.*—Unknown to the Editor.

▪ *Tuaim n-Eidhin.*—Unknown to the Editor.

▪ *Asal.*—This fort was at Cnoc Droma Asail, now Tory Hill, near Croom, in the county of Limerick.

▪ *Eibhleo.*—This was a fort in Sliabh Eibhlíne, in the county of Tipperary, adjoining the barony of "Coonagh," in the county of Limerick.

▪ *Ucht-na-rioghna, i. e. the breast of the queen.* Unknown to the Editor.

▪ *Cuilleann, now Cuilleann O g-Cuanach,* in the barony of Clanwilliam and county of Tipperary, but originally, as its

name indicates, in the territory of Ui Chuanach, which is supposed to be included in the present barony of "Coonagh," in the county of Limerick.

▪ *Cua.*—This seat was at Sliabh Cua, in the county of Waterford, a short distance to the south of Clonmel. See p. 16, note <sup>1</sup>, *supra*.

▪ *Claire.*—This was the name of a conspicuous hill situated immediately to the east of Duntryleague, in the barony of Coshlea, and county of Limerick. There are, however, two forts still called Dun g-Claire, said to have been regal residences of the kings of Munster; one now called Lios Dun g-Claire, i. e. the fort Dun g-Claire, situated on the boundary between the townlands of Glenbrohaun and Glenlara, in the barony of Coshlea, and county of Limerick; and the other in the townland of Farrannacarriga, parish of Ballynacourty, barony of Corcaguiny, and county of Kerry.

▪ *Inneoin.*—This place is now called mullač Inneonđ, i. e. the summit of Inneoin, *Anglicè* Mullaghinnone, a townland in the parish of Newchapel, near the



Magh Naei<sup>a</sup>, Magh n-Eadarba<sup>a</sup>, Uacht-magh<sup>a</sup>,  
 Caechan Boirne<sup>a</sup>, constant the road for the king,  
 The great Mur-mhagh<sup>b</sup>, Magh Eanaigh Rosa<sup>a</sup>,  
 Tuaim n-Eidhin<sup>c</sup>, with its brow to the land.

Asal<sup>d</sup>, Eibhleó<sup>d</sup>, Ucht-na-rioghna<sup>a</sup>,  
 The fort with its numerous attendants,  
 Cuilleann<sup>e</sup> and Cua<sup>e</sup> and Claire<sup>e</sup>,  
 Inneoin<sup>f</sup> and Aine<sup>e</sup> and Ord<sup>g</sup>.

Uilleann Eatan<sup>b</sup> and Loch Ceann<sup>h</sup>,  
 Ceann Nathrach<sup>h</sup>, the houses of Rafann<sup>h</sup>, it is true,  
 Druim Caein<sup>i</sup>, Druim Finghin<sup>j</sup> of the wood,  
 And with it Treada-na-riogh<sup>k</sup>.

town of Clonmel, barony of Iffa and Offa East, county of Tipperary. Here are the ruins of a castle, which probably occupy the site of the more ancient fort. See Keating, in the reign of Cormac mac Airt.

<sup>a</sup> *Aine*, now Cnoc Aine, a conspicuous hill in a parish of the name, in the barony of Small County, Limerick. There is a fort on the summit of this hill which commands an extensive prospect of the country in every direction. For some account of the places which can be seen from it, see Book of Leinster, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 2, 18, fol. 105.

<sup>b</sup> *Ord*.—Unknown to the Editor.

<sup>b</sup> *Uilleann Eatan*.—Unknown to the Ed.

<sup>c</sup> *Loch Ceann*, i. e. lake of the heads.—Unknown to the Editor.

<sup>d</sup> *Ceann Nathrach*, head or hill of the adder or adders, the ancient name of Ceann Sleibhe, a beautiful mountain over the lake of Inchiquin, near Corofin, in the county of Clare. From this place Aenghus Cinn Nathrach, the fifth son of Cas, and ancestor of the family of O'Deaghaidh (O'Dea), took his cognomen.

<sup>e</sup> *Rafann*.—See Grafann, p. 91, note 1, *suprà*.

<sup>f</sup> *Druim Caein*.—This was probably the name of a subdivision of Sliabh Caein, now Sliabh Riach, on the borders of the counties of Limerick and Cork.

<sup>g</sup> *Druim Finghin*.—This is the name of a long ridge of high ground extending from near Castle Lyons in the county of Cork, to the Bay of Dungarvan in the county of Waterford, and dividing the barony of Decies within Drum, from that of Decies without Drum [i. e. without or outside Druim Finghin].

<sup>h</sup> *Treada-na-riogh*, i. e. Tre-dui na riogh, the triple-fossed fort of the kings. This was probably the ancient name of the great moat at Kilfinnan, near Kilmallock, in the county of Limerick, which consists of a moat placed in the centre, and three outer ramparts of circumvallation. The Editor was once of opinion that this was one of the forts called Dun g-Claire, but he has been convinced of the contrary by the existence elsewhere, and not distant, of a fort called Dun g-Claire.

Ráith Eirc, Ráith Faelaó, Ráith Arda  
 is leir Ráith Droma Deilg chear,  
 δεανδραιγι, δρεσραιδι, ορδραιδι  
 acur h-Ua Chuinn a nó fear. ΑΡΑ [FEASADAR].

<sup>1</sup> *Rath Eirc*, i. e. Earc's fort. Unknown to the Editor. See poem on the druid Mogh Ruith, verse 22, Book of Lismore, fol. 103, b.

<sup>2</sup> *Rath Faeladh*, i. e. Fraeladh's rath, or earthen fort.—This is probably the ancient name of Rath Gaela, or "Rathkeale,"

in the county of Limerick.

<sup>3</sup> *Rath Arda*, i. e. the fort or rath of the height. This is evidently the place called Rath Arda Suird, in the Annals of the Four Masters, A. M. 805, which is that now called Rath-Suird, a townland situated in the parish of Donaghmore, near the city

Rath Eirc<sup>1</sup>, Rath Faeladh<sup>2</sup>, Rath Arda<sup>1</sup>  
 And eke Rath Droma Deilg<sup>3</sup> south,  
 Beanntraidhe<sup>4</sup>, Greagraidhe<sup>5</sup>, Orbhraidhe<sup>6</sup>  
 And Ui Chuirp<sup>7</sup> as is known. . . . . KNOWEST THOU.

of Limerick. There is an old castle there, situate on a rising ground, and, close to it on the western side, the ancient fort to which the name was originally applied.

<sup>3</sup> *Rath Droma Deilg*, i. e. fort of the ridge of the thorn. Unknown to the Ed.

<sup>2</sup> *Beanntraidhe*, now Bantry, in the county of Cork.

<sup>5</sup> *Greagraidhe*.—Unknown to the Ed.

<sup>6</sup> *Orbhraidhe*, *Anglicè* Orrery. See p. 64, note <sup>1</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ui Chuirp*.—Unknown to the Ed.

## II.—DUIGHEADH RÍGH CHRUAICHAN.

DO SÚCHAR Chonbáct anó ro rí, amail ad feo denén:

Círa acur tuairpeia Conbáct .i. móh chíp Conbáct iar bia-  
thaó' acur comídeacht: céadamur co Cpuachain:

A h-Uímall dno eirniḡteap círa Conbáct co Cpuachain priur:

Cóic fichit bó acur cóic fichit torc acur cóic fichit leanó a  
h-Uínull [inn] rin.

Cóic fichit dam acur cóic fichit lulgach acur trí fichit muc<sup>a</sup>  
acur fearca<sup>a</sup> brat ó ḡ(h)negraidi and rin.

Ceathracha ar dá chéu brat acur dá chéu bó acur fichi ar  
chéu muc ó Chonmaicniḡ rin.

Céu bó acur céat n-dam ó Chiarraidiḡ ino rin: fearca brat  
dearg acur fearca torc ó Chiarraidiḡ deor and rin.

Sé chaeca lulgach, trí chaeca torc, trí chaeca brat ó na Luig-  
niḡ cachá Dealleaine, acur trí chaeca dam; acur ní ar dáiri na  
(ḡ)-fineadach rin, áct ar dáiri féir acur fearaind<sup>a</sup>.

Ceathraíca ar chéu bó acur reacht (ḡ)-céat caerach<sup>a</sup>—nó ir  
do chaeraiḡ iaraino,—caeca ar trí céat muc acur caeca ar trí  
céat dam ó na Corcaíḡ ino rin.

Caeca ar chéu brat dearg acur caeca ar céat torc acur caeca  
ar céat n-dam ó na Dealbnaíḡ ino rin, ar a (o)-tealgao 'n-a (o)-tíri<sup>6</sup>.

Seachtmoḡa brat, reachtmoḡa torc a h-Uíḡ Maine tar ceano  
a (o)-tíri.

H-Ua ḡriuiri acur Síḡ Muiréagairḡ acur Uí Fiaírpach acur cenél  
n-Aeda raepr-thuatha ino rin, acur cóim-faera fri riḡ [iat], acur  
ní chiaḡaid reacht nó pluairgeao áct ar chróó; acur ní chiaḡaid  
i (ḡ)-cach la riḡ áct ar a lóḡ; acur dia marḡethar acur co ra  
marḡethar oligíó in riḡ a n-éiric oo íc ó'n riḡ, acur in tan nach  
(m)-bia<sup>a</sup> riḡi la Síḡ Fiaírpach, nó Aeda, nó ḡuairi, ir leo guala deap  
riḡ Conbáct lap in (ḡ)-fear ir fearr diḡ. Má dá (o)-teagmá ar deo-

## II.—THE PRIVILEGES OF THE KING OF CRUACHAIN.

OF THE REVENUE of Connacht down here, as Benen has related:

The rents and stipends of Connacht, i. e. the great tribute of Connacht both refection and escort: first to Cruachain:

From Umhall the tributes of Connacht are first presented to Cruachain:

Five score cows and five score hogs and five score mantles from Umhall.

Five score oxen and five score milch-cows and three score hogs and sixty cloaks from the Greagraidhe.

Two hundred and forty cloaks and two hundred cows and a hundred and twenty hogs from the Conmaicne.

A hundred cows and a hundred oxen from the Ciarraidhe; also sixty red cloaks and sixty hogs from the Ciarraidhe.

Six times fifty milch-cows, three times fifty hogs, three times fifty cloaks from the Luighne every May-day, and three times fifty oxen; and this is not in consequence of inferiority of [race in] those tribes, but in consequence of the liability of the grass and land.

A hundred and forty cows and seven hundred *caercha* (sheep)—or *caera iarainn* (masses of iron)—three hundred and fifty hogs and three hundred and fifty oxen from the Corca.

A hundred and fifty red cloaks, a hundred and fifty hogs and a hundred and fifty oxen from the Dealbhna, and this for maintaining them in their territory.

Seventy cleaks, seventy hogs from the Ui Maine for their territory.

The Ui Briuin and the Siol Muireadhaigh and the Ui Fiachrach and the Cineal Aedha are free tribes, and they are equally noble as the king, and they do not go upon an expedition or hosting except for pay;

paidéacht a (g)-cúich n-aill, ir leo guala níg Cairil, nó níg Náir,  
nó níg Eamna Maichi. Conaó dóib-fín<sup>9</sup> no chachaim in bñl buaóa  
óenén:

ÉISTIG RÉ SEANCHAS nach fuall  
áipd-níg Conaóat claidéam ruaid;  
oo neoch bliéar-ó chíp thall<sup>10</sup>  
'n-a eineach, 'n-a einicclanb.

Mór chíp Conaóat oo Cruachaim  
cean óimear, ó óeag-thuathaid<sup>11</sup>,  
cach ní dia n-blig dílr<sup>12</sup>,  
rmacht, biathab acur cóimíóeáat.

Cóic fichit bó, buan a m-blaó,  
cóic fichit torc, eaeó leatán,  
cóic fichit leand, ligóa [a n-]garat,  
a h-Umall do ní Conaóat.

Áipd chíp na n-óreaóhaidi a óér<sup>13</sup>:  
do ní<sup>14</sup> Conaóat dáig ao béar<sup>15</sup>  
cúic fichib dam co n-a n-óath<sup>16</sup>,  
do níg Conaóat ir Cruachan.

Trí fichit muc, mór in rmacht,  
acur trí fichit níg brat,

<sup>a</sup> *Tribute—eineaclann.* This word is used by Dubhaltach Mac Fírbisigh in the sense of stipend or salary; but when applied to a king it means "a tribute paid to him in consideration of his protection." It sometimes means *eric* or *fine*.

<sup>b</sup> *Cruachain.*—*Vide* *suprà*, p. 20, note <sup>1</sup>; p. 34, note <sup>o</sup>. For the remains still to be seen at this place the reader is further referred to the Editor's translation of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, pp. 204–206.

<sup>c</sup> *Umhall*, in the west of Mayo, comprising the baronies of "Burrischoole" and "Murrisk" (see p. 19, note <sup>1</sup>, *suprà*), into

which two parts, Upper and Lower, it has in latter ages been divided, the town of Cathair na Mart (Westport) standing on the boundary between them. These two divisions were in former times usually called "the Owles" (Ools) by English writers, and absurdly Latinized *Pomum*, as "O'Malley de Pomo," State Papers, *temp.* Henry VIII. vol. ii. part iii. p. 4, A. D. 1515. Since the introduction of surnames the family of O'Maille (O'Malley) have been chiefs in this district. They are descended from Conall Oirbseán, one of the twenty-four sons of Brian, the common an-

and they do not go into battle with the king but for reward; and if they be killed, and upon their being killed, the king is bound to give eric to their king; and when the kingdom [of Connacht] does not belong to the race of Fiachra or Aedh or Guaire, the best man of them is privileged to sit by the right shoulder of the king of Connacht. If they happen to be in exile in another territory, they are to sit at the right shoulder of the king of Caiseal, or of the king of Nas, or of the king of Eamhain Macha. Of which things the gifted scion Benean sang:

HEARKEN TO A HISTORY, which is not trifling,  
Of the supreme-king of Connacht of the red swords;  
What he is entitled to from his own country\*  
For his protection, [and] as tribute<sup>a</sup>.

The great tribute of Connacht [to be conveyed] to Cruachain<sup>b</sup>  
Without disrespect, from goodly districts,  
Everything that to right is due,  
Tribute, refection and escort.

Five score cows of lasting condition,  
Five score hogs of broad sides,  
Five score mantles, beautiful their texture,  
From Umhall<sup>c</sup> to the king of Connacht.

The high tribute of the Greagraidhe<sup>d</sup> I shall mention:  
To the king of Connacht they certainly shall pay  
Five score oxen of good color,  
To the king of Connacht and Cruachain.

Three score hogs, great the tribute,  
And three score royal cloaks,

cestor of the families of O'Conchobhair, O'Flaithbheartaigh, and other chieftain families of Connacht, and are not of French origin, as some of themselves now wish to be believed. See O'Fla. *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 79.

<sup>a</sup> *Greagraidhe*, now ridiculously called "the Gregories," a district in the south of

the county of Sligo, supposed to be co-extensive with the barony of "Coolavin." See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 46; but it was originally much more extensive. The ancient inhabitants of this district were descended from Aenghus Fionn, the son of Fearghus, king of Ulster in the first century.

cóic fichit lailgeach anall  
ó Chrecairí na (g)-caim-éranb<sup>7</sup>.

Dá fichit óc brat co m-brig,  
dá céat bó cean imar pímh<sup>18</sup>,  
ochtmoza muc, mór a m-bloib<sup>19</sup>,  
dleazgar do na Conmaicnib.

Cóic fichit bó mór, co m-blaib,  
cóic fichit daib do daibnaib  
ó Chiarrairí, cruaid in rmacht,  
do thaðairt<sup>20</sup> do pí Connacht.

\* *Conmaicne*, i. e. descendants of Connach, son of Fearghus, ex-king of Ulster, in the first century, by Meadhbh, queen of Connacht. There were three territories of this name in Connacht, namely, *Conmaicne Chineal Dubhain*, now the barony of Dunmore, in the north of the county of Galway; *Conmaicne Cuile Toladh*, now the barony of Kilmaine, in the south of the county of Mayo; and *Conmaicne Mara*, now the barony of Ballynahinch, in the north-west of the county of Galway. It should be remarked that before the Dalcassian families, called *Dealbhna*, settled in West or *Iar Connacht*, the *Conmaicne Mara*, or maritime *Conmaicne*, had possession of all that part of the present county of Galway lying west of *Loch Measca* (Mask) and *Loch Oirbsean* (Corrib), and between Galway and the harbour of *Cael Shaile Ruadh* (Killary), all which district has its old name still revived or preserved in the corrupted form of "*Connamara*." See Hardiman's edition of O'Flaherty's *Iar-Connacht*, pp. 31, 92, &c. &c.

<sup>7</sup> *Ciarraidhe*. — These were also descended from Fearghus, ex-king of Ulster, and derive their name and origin from *Ciar*,

one of the illegitimate sons of Fearghus, by Meadhbh, queen of Connacht. The *Ciarraidhe* of Connacht had been seated in Munster for some centuries before they removed to Connacht. According to a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 3, 17, p. 875, they removed to Connacht in the reign of Aedh, son of Eochaidh Tirmcharna the eighth Christian king of Connacht, under the conduct of Cairbre, son of Conaire. As the account of the *Ciarraidhe* of Connacht given in that manuscript is very curious, and determines the situation of an ancient Irish church, the position of which has much puzzled modern writers, the Editor is tempted here to present the reader with a literal translation of it.

"When first did the *Ciarraidhe* come into Connacht? Not difficult. In the time of Aedh, son of Eochaidh Tirmcharna. Which of them came in first? Not difficult. Coirbri, son of Conairi, who came from the south of Munster, whence he had been expelled. He came with all his people to Aedh, son of Eochaidh Tirmcharna. Coirbri had a famous daughter, and king Aedh asked her of her father. She came



Five score milch-cows [are also brought] over  
From the Greagraidhe of the fine trees.

Twelve score cloaks of strength,  
Two hundred cows without defect of reckoning,  
Eighty hogs, great their fame,  
Are due of the Conmaicne<sup>e</sup>.

Five score great cows of repute,  
Five score oxen of oxen  
From the Ciarraidhe<sup>f</sup>, heavy the tribute<sup>g</sup>,  
Are given to the king of Connacht.

one time to her father's house, and her father conceiving great grief in her presence, she asked him whence his grief arose. 'My being without lands in exile,' said he. Messengers afterwards arrived from the king to see the daughter, but she resolved not to go to the king until he should give a good tract of land to her father. 'I will give him,' said Aedh, 'as much of the wooded lands to the west as he can pass round in one day, and St. Caelainn, the pious, shall be given as a guarantee of it.' Coirbri afterwards went round a great extent of that country, according to the mode directed, and finally returned to his house, and settled his people in these lands. The men of Connacht greatly criminated Aedh for the too great extent of land, as they deemed, which he had given away, and said that Coirbri should be killed. 'This cannot be done,' said Aedh, 'for Caelainn is guarantee for himself and for his land. But, however, let some beer be made by you for him, and give him a poisonous draught in that beer, that he may die of it.' A feast was, therefore, afterwards prepared. This whole affair was revealed by the Lord to St. Caelainn, and she came to the feast.

'Why hast thou violated my guarantee?' said she to Aedh. 'I will violate thee as regards thy kingdom.' 'Accept thy own award in compensation for it,' said the king. 'I will,' said Caelainn. 'Pass thy sentence then,' said the king. 'I will,' said she. 'Because it is through the medium of beer thou soughtest to destroy Coirbri, may the king of Connacht meet decline or certain death if ever he drink of the beer of the Ciarraidhi.' Hence it came to pass that the Ciarraidhi never brew any beer for the kings of Connacht. 'Grant land to myself,' said the nun. 'Choose it,' said the king. The Tearmonn Mor was afterwards given, where her church is at the present day."

St. Caelainn, who was of the race of Ciar, son of Fearghus, is still held in the highest veneration in the territories of Ciarraidhe Aei (in the west of the county of Roscommon), and Ciarraidhe Locha na n-Airneadh (in the barony of Costello, and county of Mayo). Her church is still sometimes called Tearmonn Caelainne, and sometimes Tearmonn Mor. It is situate in the parish of "Kilkeevin," in the territory of Ciarraidhe Aei, about one mile to the east of

Trí fichib bpat dearg, nach buib<sup>21</sup>,  
 trí fichie torc, caeb lebar,  
 ó Chiarraidib, cruaid in bpeac<sup>22</sup>,  
 'r-a (b)-cabaire<sup>23</sup> uil, ap oen leach.

Oleagar do Luignib cean loche,  
 a (b)-curnonh fhuir in long-pore<sup>24</sup>,  
 reache (g)-caeca lulgach ille  
 do choabairt cach delltaine<sup>25</sup>.

Trí chaeca torc, ir tapbda,  
 a (b)-toractain cach samna,  
 trí caeca bpat co n-a m-blaib  
 do rig Condaet ir Cpuchan.

Ir do'n chám chéatha, no clor,  
 can éagóir<sup>26</sup>, can ain-b-flaichur,  
 trí caeca oam ap ló ille<sup>27</sup>  
 do fhuichleam<sup>28</sup> thebairi.

the town of "Castlereá." See the Ordnance Map of the county of Roscommon, sheets 20, 26. See also the Annals of Ulster and the Four Masters, at the year 1225, where it is stated that the English and the people of Munster, having gone into the province of Connacht to attack O'Neill (who had gone thither to assist the sons of Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair), attempted to plunder this church of Tearmonn Caelainne, but that they were slaughtered through the miracles of the saint. We are, however, informed by the Annals of Kilronan, that in the year 1286 the Justiciary of Ireland went to Connacht to assist William Burke, and succeeded in burning Tearmonn Caelainne, in despite of the people, regardless of the sanctity of the place. See Mac Firsigh's Genealogies of the Irish Saints, p. 733, and an Inquisition, taken on the 27th of May, 1617, which finds that "Termon-Kealand" belonged to the mo-

nastery of Roscommon. See Tribes and Customs of the Ui Fiachrach, page 153, note ". We have still sufficient evidence to prove the extent of the country of the Ciarraidhe of Connacht. It comprised the whole of the present barony of Clannmorris, in the county of Mayo, except the Tearmonn of Balla; also that portion of the barony of Costello belonging to the archdiocese of Tuam, namely, the parishes of Aghamore, Knock, Began, and Annagh, which was called Ciarraidhe Locha na n-Airneadh; the district of Ciarraidhe Aei, now Clann Ceithearnaigh (O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 46), in Roscommon, extending, according to the most intelligent of the natives, from the bridge of "Cloonalis," near Castlereá, westwards to "Cloon-eane," where it adjoins the county of Mayo, and from "Clooncan" to Cluain Creamhchoille, "Clooncraftfield," where it adjoins the territory of Airteach, and thence in the

[Also] three score red cloaks, not black,  
 Three score hogs of long sides  
 From the Ciarraidhe, hard the sentence,  
 Are all to be brought to one place.

There are due of the Luighne<sup>b</sup> without fault,  
 As a supply for the residence;  
 Seven times fifty milch-cows hither  
 To be brought every May-day.

Thrice fifty bull-like hogs  
 To be brought every Samhain,  
 Thrice fifty superb cloaks  
 To the king of Connacht and Cruachain.

Of the same tribute, it was heard,  
 Without injustice, without tyranny,  
 Thrice fifty oxen on a day hither  
 To supply the ploughing.

other direction to "Cloonaff," adjoining Lord Mountsandsford's demesne; and also Ciarraidhe Airtich, which is still well known, and comprises the parishes of Tibohine and Kilnamanagh, in the modern grand jury barony of "Frenchpark," in the north-west of the county of Roscommon.

<sup>s</sup> *Great the tribute.* It will be observed that the kings of Connacht contrived to make the Ciarraidhe and other tribes, who had migrated from Munster, pay more than a rateable tribute for their territory. See the tribute paid by the Luighne, the descendants of Cormac Gaileanga, son of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilíoll Olum, king of Munster, and by the Dealbhna, who were of the race of Cormac Cas, son of the same Oilíoll. See note <sup>a</sup>, p. 106, *infra*.

<sup>b</sup> *Luighne.*—These derived their name and origin from Luigh, son of Cormac Gaileang, just mentioned, and were other-

wise called Gaileanga from the cognomen of their ancestor. The exact limits of their territory are preserved in those of the diocese of Achadh Chonainn (Achonry) in the counties of Sligo and Mayo. The name Luighne is still preserved in that of the barony of "Leyny" in the county of Sligo, which was the territory of the family of O'h-Ara (O'Hara); and that of Gaileanga, their *alids* name, in that of the barony of "Gallen," in the county of Mayo; but these modern baronies do not comprise all the territory of the Luighne or Gaileanga, for we have the clearest evidence that the entire of Sliabh Lugha, which forms about the northern half of the barony of Costello, belonged to O'Gadhra (O'Gara) and was a part of the country of the Luighne or Gaileanga. On the increasing power of the Anglo-Norman families of Jordan de Exeter, and Nangle or Costello, the O'Gadhra's were driven out of their original territory,

Cé ba fearaib<sup>20</sup> Luighe ille  
 a (g)-cáim<sup>20</sup> tar éasb a (o)-éipe,  
 ní h-iaib, na tuath<sup>21</sup>, ir baer anó  
 áct in fear<sup>22</sup> ir a' fearaib.

Airb-chír na (g)-Corc, cean chruaibí,  
 do thoibairt cach aen uair<sup>23</sup>  
 do rí<sup>24</sup> Maí<sup>25</sup> h-Ae<sup>26</sup> na n-each  
 reacht (b)-ficht bó, ní bán breath.

Seacht (g)-caeca do chaerabí iairn,  
 reacht (g)-caecab muc co mór ghiaib<sup>27</sup>,  
 reacht (g)-caecab baib, uilrí rmacht,  
 do báir do ní Connacht<sup>28</sup>.

Trí chaeca baer corcra, ab clor,  
 can ain-íir, cean imarbur<sup>29</sup>,  
 ir do D(h)elbnaib oleagar rin  
 do rí<sup>30</sup> Connacht co Cruachain<sup>31</sup>.

and they acquired a new settlement for themselves in the territory of the Greagraidhe ("Coolavin," as already stated).

<sup>1</sup> *But the grass and the land.*—The territory of Luighe or Gaileanga (for they were originally synonymous) anciently belonged to an enslaved tribe of the Firbolgs (called "Gaileans" and "Dammonians"), who inhabited this territory down to the third century, when Cormac Gaileang, after having incurred the censure of his father Tadhg, in Munster, fled thither and obtained a grant of this Firbolg territory from his kinsman Cormac mac Airt, monarch of Ireland, subject, however, to the heavy tributes which had been paid by the dispossessed Aitheach Tuatha (Attacots). See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, c. 69.

<sup>2</sup> *Corca.*—The Editor knows no tribe of this name in Connacht except Corca Ach-iann and Corca Firtí, who were both of the royal race of Eochaidh Muighmheadhan, and

Corca Mogha (in Ui Maine), descended from Buan, the son of the druid Mogh Ruith; D. Mac Fírb. MS. Genea<sup>3</sup> p. 535. That district is now supposed to be co-extensive with the parish of Kilkerrin, near Dunmore, in the north of Galway; but this small territory could not have paid the immense tribute mentioned in the text.

<sup>1</sup> *King of Magh Aei.*—The king of Connacht was so called from the situation of his palace of Cruachain in the Plain of Magh Aei, or *Campus Connacie*, now Machaire Chonnacht, a beautiful plain in the county of Roscommon, extending from near the town of Roscommon to the verge of the barony of Bóyle, and from the bridge of "Cloonfree," near Strokestown, westwards to Castlerea. These are the present limits of this plain, according to tradition, but it would appear from the position of Ciarraidhe Aei, that this plain extended farther to the west.

Although the Luighne bring hither  
 Their tribute for their territory,  
 It is not the tribes here are ignoble  
 But the grass and the land<sup>1</sup> [are liable].

The high tribute of the Corca<sup>k</sup>, without severity,  
 To be given every time (year)  
 To the king of Magh Aei<sup>1</sup> of steeds,  
 Seven score cows, no light award<sup>m</sup>.

Seven times fifty masses of iron,  
 Seven times fifty hogs of great battle,  
 Seven times fifty oxen, lawful the tribute,  
 They shall give to the king of Connacht.

Three times fifty red cloaks, it was heard,  
 Without injustice, without transgression,  
 Of the Dealbhna<sup>n</sup> are these due  
 To the king of Connacht at Cruachain.

<sup>1</sup>*No light award.*—The Irish word *bán* is used to denote blank in such compounds as the present; as *bán-muim*, a defeat caused by panic or terror, without shedding blood; *bán-muirt*, i. e. martyrdom effected by subduing the passions, without shedding blood.

<sup>n</sup>*Dealbhna.*—The Dealbhna (Delvins) are descended from Sumann, son of Lughaidh Dealbhaeth, the third son of Cas, ancestor of the family of O'Briain, of North Munster. Their possessions in Connacht comprised the present barony of "Moycullen" in the county of Galway, which was anciently called Dealbhna Feadha, and Dealbhna Tire da Loch, from its situation between Loch Oirbsean (Corrib), and Loch Lurgan, or the Bay of Galway; Dealbhna Cuile Fabhair, otherwise called Muintir Fathaidh, situate on the east side of Loch Corrib, and comprising fourteen Bailes or townlands, which be-

longed to the family of O'Fathartaigh, "Faherty;" and Dealbhna Nuadhat, seated between the rivers Suca (Suck) and Sionnain (Shannon); nearly all included in the barony of "Athlone," in the county of Roscommon. See O'Fla. *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 82; and Annals of the Four Masters, at the years 751, 816, 1142; D. Mac Firisigh's Genealogical work (Marquis of Drogheda's copy), p. 345; and Tribes and Customs of the Ui Maine, p. 83. The family of Mac Conroi (now "King"), O'h-Adhnaidh (Hyney), and O'Fathartaigh (O'Faherty), were the chief families of this race after the establishment of surnames. The tribe of Dealbhna Nuadhat sank under the Ui Maine before the establishment of surnames. The last notice of them, in the Annals of the Four Masters, occurs under the year 751. There were other territories called Dealbhna, in the ancient Meath, concerning whom see notes further on.

h-Uí Fíachrach in moigí móir,  
Cenél 'n-Aeóda,—ní h-éoir,  
ní oleaighar oib cáin ná rmachta<sup>as</sup>  
do thoðairt do níg Conoácte.

Na clanda rin can chír coim<sup>o</sup>,  
máó áil, fíoindeas<sup>as</sup> a rochair:  
cóim-dúthairg oóib imale  
cé bé oib sa po in nige.

Óé bé oib deach lair i (g)-cath  
lé níg Conoachte ir Chyuachan,  
dia marbthar do gáib nó 'n-gleic<sup>as</sup>  
oleaighar<sup>as</sup> a ic 'r-a éreic.

Uair nochó olig neach<sup>as</sup> oib-rin  
oul i (g)-cath nó cóimlonas<sup>as</sup>  
la ní Conoacte chaimé cruib,  
minab<sup>as</sup> ar céano tuairituil.

race of Muireadhach Muilleathan, king of Connacht. See the Introduction. After the establishment of surnames, the principal families of this race, who were the most distinguished of the Uí Briuin, were those of O'Conchobhair (O'Conors) of Magh Aei, kings of Connacht; of Mac Diarmaid (Mac Dermots) of Magh Lurg (Moylurg); of Mac Oireachtaigh (Geraghtys), chiefs of Muintir Roduibh; of O'Fionnachtaigh, chiefs of Clanna Conmhuighe (Clanconway); and various other collateral families.

<sup>1</sup> *Uí Fíachrach*.—There were two tribes of this name in Connacht, descended from Fíachra, the brother of the Irish monarch Niall of the Nine Hostages. The more powerful tribe of the name, the northern Uí Fíachrach, possessed the present baronies of "Carra," "Erris," and "Tirawley," in the county of Mayo, and the barony of

Tir Fhiachrach (Tireragh), in the county of Sligo. After the establishment of surnames, the families of O'Dubhda and O'Caemhain were the most distinguished of this tribe.—See the Tribes and Customs, &c., of the Uí Fíachrach, *passim*. The other Uí Fíachrach of Connacht, the Uí Fíachrach Aidhne (south Uí Fíachrach), were seated in the south-west of the county of Galway, and their territory was exactly co-extensive with the diocese of Cill Mhic Duach (Kilmacduagh), as we learn from the Life of St. Colman Mac Duach (H. 2, 16, p. 495), who was their patron, and all whose territory was placed by Guaire Aidhne, king of Connacht, in his bishopric about the year 610. "Conið ir in maigin rin po foðairgeasó Cell míc Duac, conid leir Aíone uile, acurclann Thuarne mic Colmán oppin amác co bpat<sup>as</sup>", i. e. "So that

The Ui Fiachrach<sup>1</sup> of the great plain,  
 The Cineal Aedha<sup>2</sup>,—not unjust,  
 They are not liable to rent or tribute,  
 To give to the king of Connacht.

Of these tribes without any tribute,  
 If it be pleasing, I shall name their privileges:  
 Of the same race are they all together,  
 Which ever of them shall attain to the kingship.

Whoever of them goes with him into battle  
 With the king of Connacht and Cruachain,  
 If he die of wounds or be killed in battle,  
 It is a duty (of the king) to pay his eric.

For not one of these is bound  
 To go into battle or conflicts  
 With the king of Connacht of the fair rewards,  
 Unless for the sake of stipend<sup>3</sup>.

in that place was founded Cill Mic Duach, so that all Aidhne, and the race of Guaire, son of Colman, belong to him [Mac Duach] for ever." The principal families of this tribe after the establishment of surnames, were those of O'h-Eidhin (O'Heynes), O'Clerigh (O'Clerys), and Mac Giolla Ceallaigh (Kilkellys), who were descended from king Guaire Aidhne, and of O'Seachnasaigh (O'Shaughnessys), who sprung from Aedh, the uncle of king Guaire. St. Colman, the patron saint of this tribe, was the son of Duach, who was the son of Ainmire, son of Conall, son of Eoghan Aidhne, the ancestor of the Ui Fiachrach Aidhne.

<sup>1</sup> *Cineal Aedha*, i. e. the tribe of Aedh. This was the tribe-name of O'Seachnasaigh, a subsection of the Ui Fiachrach Aidhne. Most modern writers have spoken of the Cineal Aedha and Ui Fiachrach Aidhne as if they were a different race, but the most

ancient pedigrees make the Cineal Aedha a subdivision of the Ui Fiachrach Aidhne. This incorrectness became general among the Irish writers. After the English invasion O'h-Eidhin and O'Seachnasaigh became independent of each other, when the former, being the senior, and of the race of Guaire, took the title of chief of the Ui Fiachrach Aidhne, and the latter the title of chief of Cineal Aedha.

<sup>2</sup> *For the sake of stipend*.—That is, these tribes were considered the king's relatives, and they were not bound to serve the king in his wars except for pay; and if any of them were killed in battle while in the service of the king of Connacht, the king was to pay to his tribe mulct or eric for him, according to his dignity. This was a great privilege enjoyed by the descendants of the brothers of the monarch Niall of the Nine Hostages in Connacht.

An epáth nach (m)-bia nígí thuaib  
ac píll fíachra<sup>66</sup> ír Thuairí gluaip,  
ipeasó oleagáib,—ní ghráin gairt,  
leathguala áirio-nígí Conoact<sup>67</sup>.

Dá (b)-teactaib do deig-íearp oib  
a éirí o'fácáil ré h-am-íirí  
guala cach nígí chúicib coin  
oligíob cach pí o'a nígíob.

Maith do (f)uairí Benéan co beacht  
in eolirí,—ní h-éigearp;  
ploiníreab-ra map atá rin,  
a dáine ána, éirí! . . . ÉISTIG RÉ SENCUS.

DO THUARUSTOZ<sup>68</sup> tuath Conoact ano ro ó: áirio-nígí  
Cpuachan: ár ír tap éeand íearpam<sup>69</sup> acur tuairíreail íoarí-reom  
círí, acur nochó n-arrí dárí ceneoil, ár ío bhráthair an<sup>60</sup>urraib oib-  
línaib. Ír uibíú ro bíe coníob<sup>61</sup> de ímpaí cach flaitíir acur cach nígí ó  
n-gabail<sup>62</sup> co íeetí, mína fallaiğ íal íingailí, [nó] íorííreét íorí  
naéíu<sup>63</sup>, nó bíúleab baírí, coníob de ímpaí ílaíe<sup>64</sup> uaibí: acur conab  
íarain íoğnaíob<sup>65</sup> cír acur gabab tuairíreol ó ééllach ná íill acur ná  
bell a Dúa.

Oligíob ono ílaíth ííl Muíreabaiğ íáil acur eppíob nígí Conoact,  
acur a íeíath acur a élaídeam acur a Lúípeach.

Cúic eích acur cúic élaíóim acur cúic longí acur cúic lúí-  
íeacha do nígí Umáil.

Sé íeéíth acur íe élaíóim acur íe h-eíth acur íe h-íarí acur  
íe cúiríob do nígí Cíeíraíobí.

[Cúic cúiríob íe íe Delbna.]

[Ceíthrí íarí, ceíthrí élaíóim, ceíthrí móğaíob, ceíthrí míná,  
ceíthrí lúípeá], dá íálaíğ acur dá íícheíill acur deíth (ğ)-cúirí  
acur deíth n-eích do nígí Conmaíne.

Seacht m-bíurí acur íeacht n-íarí acur íeacht n-eích acur  
íeacht (ğ)-coin do nígí h-Ua Máine.

<sup>66</sup> *I shall state it as it is.*—The writer  
had probably an older poem before him,  
which he shaped into such form as to de-

scribe the tribes as they stood in his own,  
not in St. Benéan's time. See the Intro-  
duction.



Whenever kingship shall not be in the north  
 With the race of Fiachra and the noble Guaire,  
 They are entitled,—it is no trifling privilege,  
 To sit by the side of the supreme-king of Connacht.

Should it happen that a good man of them  
 Should leave his territory through injustice,  
 To sit by the side of the king of whatsoever province  
 Is the right of each king of their kings.

Well has Benean exactly found  
 This knowledge—it is no injustice;  
 I shall state it as it is,  
 Ye noble people, hear it ! . . . HEARKEN TO A HISTORY.

OF THE STIPENDS of the chieftainries of Connacht here from the supreme king of Cruachain: for it is for the lands and stipends they pay tributes, and not for ignobility of race, for the chiefs of all are noble brethren. And it is in right of that [i. e. their equality of blood] that every one of them may approach to assume all sovereignty and kingship alike, if not debarred by the defilement of the slaying of a kinsman, or the oppressing of saints, or the renouncement of baptism, and it is by these alone his right to sovereignty should depart from him: and hence it is that they pay tribute to and receive stipend from a [regal] house which has not turned back or separated from God.

The king of Siol Muireadhaigh is entitled to the ring and dress of the king of Connacht, and to his shield and sword and armour.

Five steeds and five swords and five ships and five coats of mail to the king of Umhall.

Six shields and six swords and six steeds and six tunics and six drinking-horns to the king of Greagraidhe.

Five drinking-horns to the king of Dealbhna.

Four tunics, four swords, four bondmen, four women, four coats of mail, two rings and two chess-boards and ten drinking-horns and ten steeds to the king of Conmaicne.

Seven cloaks and seven tunics and seven steeds and seven hounds to the king of Ui Mainie.

Deich n-eich acur deich m-bruic acur deich (g)-cuirn acur  
deich (g)-coin do riú Lúigne.

Cúic eich acur cóic matail acur cúic claidim, [cúig lúineada, dá  
fálaiú, deich n-eó, deich (g)-claidim] acur deich (g)-cuirn acur deich  
mozáio acur deich (b)-fichehilla do riú h-Ua m-bruim.

Trí cuirn acur trí claidim acur trí h-eich acur deich (b)-fálaiú  
acur deich (b)-fichehilla do riú h-Ua Fiachrach in tuairceire.

Seacht mózáio acur seacht mná saera acur seacht (g)-cuirn  
acur trí<sup>66</sup> claidim acur trí<sup>66</sup> coin do riú Ceneoil n-Aeóia.

Trí h-inair acur trí cuirn acur trí h-eich do riú Parparaiú.

Iraillaiú rin moigéear febra [acur tuairceia] riú tuath Con-  
daé. Conio dóib po cheao in [barr buaóac] denéan [co n-abar] ro.

**TUARISTAL** cúició<sup>67</sup> Chondaé

il-lebar chaem io chondape,

'n-a (o)-taðair d'a<sup>68</sup> thuathaiú thuaiú

ri Condaé, ceao in móp fluaiú.

**Olúio in fear, ir fearr díb**

do fl Muireadóaiú ó'n riú

fál acur eppio ir each,

riath, claidem acur Lúineach.

**Olúio ri Umall, ceao aé,**

cóic eich 'n-a thip ceao epomóacht,

cúic claidim chopra chaetha,

cúic longá, cúic lúineacha.

**Olúio ri Delbna ó D(h)ruim Léich**

ré claidim acur ré réé,

ré h-eich, ré h-inair, co n-ór,

acur ré cuirn ré<sup>69</sup> cóim-ól.

**Olúio ri Cnechaiú glom**

ré<sup>70</sup> h-airm acur ré<sup>70</sup> h-inair,

ré<sup>70</sup> mózáio, ré mná saera,

ré lúineacha lán chaema<sup>71</sup>.

\* *Stol Muireadhaigh*.—See p. 107, note \*, *supra*.

Ten steeds and ten cloaks and ten drinking-horns and ten hounds to the king of Luighne.

Five steeds and five matala and five swords, five coats of mail, two rings, ten steeds, ten swords and five drinking-horns and ten bondmen and ten chess-boards to the king of Ui Briuin.

Three drinking-horns and three swords and three steeds and ten rings and ten chess-boards to the king of the northern Ui Fiachrach.

Seven bondmen and seven bondwomen and seven drinking-horns and three swords and three hounds to the king of Cineal Aedha.

Three tunics and three drinking-horns and three steeds to the king of Partraidhe.

Thus are estimated the worthiness and the title to stipends of the kings of the territories of Connacht. Of them the gifted son Benean composed this [poem].

#### THE STIPENDS of the province of Connacht

In a fair book I have seen,

Which are given to his chieftainries in the north

By the king of Connacht, head of the great host.

Entitled is the man who is best of them

Of the Siol Muireadhaigh\* from the king

To a ring and a dress and a steed,

To a shield, sword and coat of mail.

Entitled is the king of Umhall†, without condition,

To five steeds in his country without heaviness,

Five polished swords of battle,

Five ships, five coats of mail.

Entitled is the king of Dealbhna‡ of Druim Leith

To six swords and six shields,

Six steeds, six tunics, with gold [ornaments],

And six drinking-horns for banquets.

Entitled is the king of fair Greagraidhe\*

To six weapons and six tunics,

Six bondmen, six bondwomen,

Six completely beautiful coats of mail.

† Umhall.—See p. 98, note c, *suprà*.

‡ Dealbhna.—See p. 105, note u, *suprà*.

\* Greagraidhe.—See page 99, note d, *suprà*.

Olúgíó ní Conmaicne éóir  
 veich (g)-cuipn ap n-sul 'n-a éeac n-óil,  
 veich n-eich luatha for a lino<sup>72</sup> [ling, B.],  
 óá fálaig ír óá fíchehill.

Olúgíó ní h-Ua Maine in meano  
 react m-bruit, react n-gabna tap gleann<sup>73</sup>,  
 reit (g)-coin fpi copad realga  
 i[r] reacht n-inair upn-deapga<sup>74</sup>.

Olúgíó ní Luigne<sup>75</sup> na laech  
 veich n-eich, veich m-bruit,—nocho baeth,  
 veich (g)-cuipn fpi cartheam<sup>76</sup> meaóa,  
 veich (g)-com chaema chner gela<sup>77</sup>.

Olúgíó ní h-Ua m-Óriuin co m-blaio<sup>78</sup>  
 cúic eich acur cúic matail,  
 cúic claidim, veic (g)-cuipn chama,  
 veich moígaib, veich (b)-fícthealla.

Olúgíó ní na (g)-Corc ó'n choill  
 cúic maipc acur cóic mataill,  
 cúic claidim náp claf<sup>79</sup> fpi cnáim  
 cúic túipeacha fpi lom gáib.

Olúgíó ní Paperaidi in puir<sup>80</sup>  
 epí cuipn, epí claidim 'n-o chaic,  
 epí h-inair acur epí h-eich  
 ó níg Cpuachan cean éain éleic.

<sup>b</sup> *Conmaicne*.—See p. 100, note <sup>a</sup>, *supra*.

<sup>c</sup> *Ui Maine*.—See p. 106, note <sup>b</sup>, *supra*.

<sup>d</sup> *Horses, Gabhra*.—It is stated in Cormac's Glossary, that when this word is applied to a horse it should be written with an *o*; and indeed it generally is, but the scribes here have Gabhar in the text of both copies of the Book of Rights. Cormac says: "Gabhar, written with an *a*, quasi *ca-per*; but when written with an *o* it is

applied to a horse, and it is said to be a corruption of the Welsh '*Goor*.'" [*Quare gorwydd?*] The author of the Life of Aedh or St. Aidus, published by Colgan, at 28th February, translates *Lochgabhra* by *stagnum equi*; and Colgan remarks (note 14, p. 422) that *gabhar* is a very ancient Scotic and British word for *equus*, which is *each* in modern Irish.

<sup>e</sup> *Luigne*.—See p. 103, note <sup>b</sup>, *supra*.

Entitled is the king of hospitable Conmaicne<sup>b</sup>

To ten drinking-horns on going into his drinking-house,

Ten swift steeds on which to mount,

Two rings and two chess-boards.

Entitled is the king of Ui Maine<sup>c</sup> the illustrious

To seven cloaks, seven horses<sup>d</sup> over the valley, .

Seven hounds for the purpose of the chase

And seven deep-red tunics.

Entitled is the king of Luighne<sup>e</sup> of the heroes

To ten steeds, ten cloaks,—not silly,

Ten drinking-horns for quaffing mead,

Ten beautiful white-skinned hounds.

Entitled is the king of Ui Briuin<sup>f</sup> of fame

To five steeds and five matals,

Five swords, ten crooked drinking-horns,

Ten bondmen, ten chess-boards.

Entitled is the king of the Corca<sup>g</sup> of the wood

To five war-horses and five matals,

Five swords not to be resisted by a bone,

Five coats of mail against bare javelins.

Entitled is the king of Partraidhe<sup>h</sup> of the port

To three drinking-horns, three swords as his share,

Three tunics and three steeds

From the king of Cruachain without any concealment.

<sup>f</sup> *Ui Briuin*.—See p. 107, note <sup>r</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>g</sup> *Corca*.—See p. 104, note <sup>k</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>h</sup> *Partraidhe*.—This is still the name of a well-known territory in the county of Mayo. It forms the western portion of the barony of “Carra,” and is now believed to be co-extensive with the parish of Odhbha Ceara (Ballovev, also “Partry”), in which there is a range of mountains called Sliabh Partraidhe (*Anglicè* Slieve Partry); but

it would appear from *Giolla Iosa Mor Mac Fírbisigh of Leacan*, that this territory was originally more extensive.—See *Tribes and Customs of the Ui Fiachrach*, pp. 47, 152, 187, 189, 202. See also O’Fla. *Ogygia*, part iii. c. xi., where mention is made of three territories of this name, viz.: “Partrigia” of Ceara, which is the one just described; “Partrigia” of the Lake, in which is situated the abbey of Cong, and the

Tní cuirn do ní h-Ua Fiachrach,  
 tñí cloidm̃, pé<sup>ni</sup> cloó cliathach,  
 tñí h-eich nach caibne ceana [i n-Aíone in leanna, B.]  
 beich (b̃)-fáilg̃i, beich (b̃)-fichehilla.

[Oligiú ní Ceneóil Aeða  
 reáct mná, reáct moḡaib̃ daera,  
 tñí cuirn acur tñí claidm̃  
 acur tñí coin pñi duíma a n-bairib̃].

Ipeaó rin oleaḡaib̃ tuatha  
 chóiciú Chonbacht ir Cruachna  
 ó riḡ Muig̃i h-Ae<sup>ni</sup> na n-aḡ,  
 do neoch oligeap tuarip̃cal. . . . . TUARISTAL.

plain on which the first battle of Magh  
 Tuireadh was fought; and "Patrigia" of  
 the Mountain, extending from the moun-

tain of St. Patrick (Craach Phadraig) to  
 Loch Oirbsean (Corrib).

i *Ui Fiachrach*.—See p. 108, note <sup>1</sup>, *suprà*.

Three drinking-horns to the king of Ui Fiachrach<sup>1</sup>,  
 Three swords for the overthrow of battles,  
 Three steeds in Aidhne of the ale,  
 Ten rings, ten chess-boards.

Entitled is the king of Ceneal Aedha  
 To seven women, seven enslaved bondmen,  
 Three drinking-horns and three swords  
 And three hounds for his forest hunting-shed<sup>k</sup>.

To such are the chieftainries entitled  
 Of the province of Connacht and Cruachain,  
 From the king of Magh Aei of the oxen,  
 Such as are entitled to stipend. . . . . THE STIPENDS.

<sup>k</sup> *Hunting-shed.*—*Ouma* is sometimes applied to a shed or hut, put up in a wood or mountain, in which the king or chief sat whilst his huntsmen and hounds were engaged around him in the chase.—*Vide ouma pealga*, in the *Dinn-Seanchus*.

### III.—OLIGHEADH RÍOGH AILIGH, OIRGHIALLA, AGUS ULADH.

#### III. 1. OLIGHEADH RÍGH AILIGH.

CÍSSA rígh Ailigh acur a thuairteal and ro, acur a chíra-pon ó thuathaidh acur a éuairteal-pon dóib-peom.

Céo caepach acur céat bpat acur céat bó acur céat topc bó ó Chuileanoraidi inb rin.

Tríca topc acur tricha bó acur tricha mole ó Thuath Ráca.

[Trí céat topc acur trí céat bó acur trí céat mole ó [féaraidh Luipg.]

[Trí céad bó, trí céad mapc, céad tine ó] rígh h-Ua Fiachrach.

Céat mapc acur céat bó acur céat topc acur<sup>1</sup> caeca bpat a h-Uib mic Cairthainn.

Trí chéat topc, trí céat bó, trí céat mapc ó Chianobáca Glenna Dèinn.

Deich (g)-céat<sup>2</sup> lulgach, céat mapc, caeca dam, caeca topc ó F(h)earaidh Li.

Céo lulgach, caeca topc, caeca bpat ó Uib Tuiptri.

Céo mapc, céat lulgach, caeca bpat ó féaraidh Muigi Itha.

Saep-chuatha Ailigh .i. Tulach Og acur Cnaeb acur Mag n-Itha acur Iny Eogain acur Cenél Conaill: conio dóib ro cha-chain in t-eolach .i. Dèinn mac Seprén<sup>3</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> It has already been explained that these headings are not in the original. They are merely used to make breaks, and to mark the order of the work; and it will here be observed that the province of Ul-

ster, unlike the other provinces, was at this period divided into three great territories, Aileach, Oirghialla, and Uladh, governed by three chief kings, each independent of the other.



### III.—THE PRIVILEGES OF THE KINGS OF AILEACH, OF THE OIRGHIALLA, AND OF ULADH.

#### III.—1. THE PRIVILEGES OF THE KING OF AILEACH<sup>a</sup>.

The tributes of the king of Aileach and his stipends here, and<sup>b</sup> his tributes from his territories, and his stipends to them.

A hundred sheep and a hundred cloaks and a hundred cows and a hundred hogs from Cuileantraidhe.

Thirty hogs and thirty cows and thirty wethers from Tuath Ratha.

Three hundred hogs and three hundred cows and three hundred wethers from the men of Lurg.

Three hundred cows, three hundred beeves, a hundred tinnies from the king of Ui Fiachrach.

A hundred beeves and a hundred cows and a hundred hogs and fifty cloaks from the Ui Mic Caerthainn.

Three hundred hogs, three hundred cows, three hundred beeves from Cianachta of Gleann Geimhin.

Ten hundred milch-cows, a hundred beeves, fifty oxen, fifty hogs from the Fir Li.

A hundred milch-cows, fifty hogs, fifty cloaks from the Ui Tuitre.

A hundred beeves, a hundred milch-cows, fifty cloaks from the men of Magh Iotha.

The free chieftainships<sup>c</sup> of Aileach, i.e. Tulach Og and Craebh and Magh Iotha and Inis Eoghain and Cineal Chonaill: of these the learned man, viz., Benean, son of Sescnean, sang:

<sup>b</sup> *And, acup.* This should be .i. *id est*, or *videlicet*, for the second part of the clause expresses the same as the first, and should not, therefore, be connected with it by a copulative conjunction.

<sup>c</sup> *Free chieftainships.*—These tribes were free from tribute, because they were of the same blood with the king of Aileach, being all descended from Niall of the Nine Hostages.

CEART níg Ailigh, eir[ε]iō nír.

Ioir dairiō nach óimír  
 dliǵiō croó, ní eir uairiō,  
 ó firiō, ó F(h)op-thuathaiō.

Céa caerach, céa bpat, céa bó  
 acur céa torc tobariō dó,  
 ó Chuileanoraiō in chocaíō  
 do níg Ailigh iar n-obair.

Trí chéa<sup>d</sup> torc a Tuath Rátha<sup>e</sup>,  
 trí chéa<sup>d</sup> bó co m-bliet bátha<sup>f</sup>,  
 tricha molt a mír buiō  
 dliǵiō níg Ailigh, uili.

Trí céa torc ó fearaiō Luirc,  
 trí chéa bó, ní bec in ériū<sup>g</sup>,  
 trí céa molt i n-a<sup>g</sup> m-beathairǵ  
 do níg Ailigh aile leathain.

Dliǵiō do ní h-Ua Fiachrach  
 trí céa bó,—ní báǵi<sup>h</sup> briathrac,  
 céa-mart ir céa tiriōi epom  
 do níg Feáil na (b)-faen long.

<sup>d</sup> *Aileach*.—(Ely, Greenan-Ely) a fort, with remains in stone, in Donegal, near Lough Swilly, and on the isthmus dividing it from Lough Foyle, barony of Inishowen. The remains of Grianan Ailigh (the palace of Aileach), which was the palace of the kings of the northern Ui Neill (Ne-potes Neilli) is minutely described in the Ordnance Memoir of the parish of Templemore. See also Colgan's *Trias Thaum.* p. 181, note 169: "A priscis scriptoribus *Aileach Neid* hodie vulgo Ailech appellatur. Fuit perantiqua Regum Hiberniæ sedes et post tempora fidei per eosdem derelicta, Temoriâ denuo repetitâ et restauratâ.

Jacet in peninsula."

<sup>e</sup> *Forthuatha*, i. e. strange tribes who settled in the province, not of the king's own race.

<sup>f</sup> *Cuileantraidhe*.—This territory is mentioned in the Annals of the Four Masters at the year 1156, but nothing has yet turned up to show its exact situation.

<sup>g</sup> *Tuath Ratha*.—(*Anglice*, Tooraah) a territory in the north-west of the county of Fermanagh, all included in the present barony of "Magheraboy." After the establishment of surnames, the family of O'Flanagain (O'Flanagans) were the chieftains of this territory, but tributary to

THE RIGHT of the king of Aileach<sup>d</sup>, listen ye to it.

Among the oak-forests immeasurable

He is entitled to income, no trifling tribute,

From the tribes [and] from the Forthuatha<sup>e</sup>.

A hundred sheep, a hundred cloaks, a hundred cows

And a hundred hogs are given to him,

From Cuileantraidhe<sup>f</sup> of the war

To the king of Aileach laboriously.

Three hundred hogs from Tuath Rathas<sup>g</sup>,

Three hundred cows with copious milk,

Thirty wethers in the yellow month [August]

Are due to the king of Aileach, all.

Three hundred hogs from the men of Lurg<sup>h</sup>,

Three hundred cows, not small the wealth,

Three hundred wethers living

To the king of Aileach of the spacious house.

There<sup>i</sup> is due from the king of Ui Fiachrach<sup>j</sup>

Three hundred cows,—not a promise of words,

A hundred beeves and a hundred heavy tinnest<sup>k</sup>

To the king of Feabhal (Foyle, i. e. of Aileach) of the ready ships.

Mac Uidhir (Maguire).

<sup>h</sup> *The men of Lurg*.—The inhabitants of the barony of Lurg; in the north of the county of Fermanagh, are still so called. After the establishment of surnames the family of O'Maelduin (O'Muldoons) were the chiefs of this territory, but tributary to head chiefs of Fermanagh.

<sup>i</sup> *Ui Fiachrach*.—These were the people called by the Irish annalists Ui Fiachrach Arda Sratha (of "Ardstraw"). They were seated along the river Dearg, in the north-west of the county of Tyrone, and their district comprised the parish of "Ardstraw," and some adjoining parishes, now

belonging to the see of Derry. Ussher states (*Primordia*, p. 857) that the church of Ardstraw, and many other churches of Opheathrach [O'Fiachrach] were taken from the see of Clogher, and incorporated with that of Derry. This tribe of Ui Fiachrach are to be distinguished from those of Connacht, already mentioned, p. 108, note<sup>l</sup>, *suprà*; these were of the people called Oirghialla, and descended from Fiachrach, son of Earc, the eldest son of Colla Uais, monarch of Ireland in the fourth century. See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 76.

<sup>j</sup> *Tinne*.—This word is explained *bacún*,

Céo mapc a h-Uib Mic Caerthainn  
 acur céat topc,—ní rurehim,  
 caeca bó, cib dól nlió<sup>11</sup>,  
 caeca brat co m-bán bilih<sup>12</sup>.

Trí chéad topc ffrí tuilleap thuairg<sup>13</sup>,  
 trí chéad bó ffrí biathaó pluarig,  
 trí chéad mapc, ip main cocaid,  
 ó Chianachta in tnom thocaid<sup>14</sup>.

Deich (g)-céat lulgach ó luét Uí,  
 céat mapc, ip breath ffrinon,  
 ip caeca dam do damaid  
 la caeca topc tnom éaraid<sup>15</sup>.

*bacon*, in the Book of Leacan, fol. 165, and *muc fante*, a salted pig, in a Glossary in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, and translated *lardum*, by O'Colgan, in his version of Brogan's metrical life of St. Bridget, *Trias Thaum.* p. 516, line 23. It is translated a *sheep* in Vallancey's *Collectanea*, vol. iii. p. 514, but that was a mere guess. It will be observed that the prose here differs from the verse, the former having three hundred hogs (topc), three hundred cows (bó), and three hundred weathers (molc); and the latter three hundred cows (bó), a hundred beeves, and a hundred tinní. The word is sometimes used, like the modern *pine*, to denote a ring of a chain, as *tinne argaib*, a ring of silver.—Cormac's Glossary, *voce* Duar; *tinne óip*, a ring of gold.—Irish Calendar, 17th June. It is quite evident from the text of this poem that *tinne* is intended to denote some animal; and the *bacún* of the Book of Leacan, and the *lardum* of Colgan, prove to a certainty that it means a hog killed and salted.

<sup>11</sup> *Ui Mic Caerthainn*, i. e. the descendants of Forgo, son of Caerthainn, who was son of Eare, grandson of Colla Uais, monarch of Ireland. The territory inhabited by this sept was called *Tir mic Caerthainn*, a name still retained in that of the barony of *Tir Chaerthainn*, *Anglicè* "Tirkeerin," in the west of the county of Derry. O'Flaherty, in his *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 76, very correctly describes this tribe as "near the Bay of Lough Fevail" [*Feabhall, Anglicè* Foyle], which washes the county of Derry, dividing it from the county of Donegal.

<sup>12</sup> *The Cianachta, Chein Iochta*, i. e. the race of Cian, who was the son of Oilioll Olum, king of Munster in the third century. The district is now the barony of "Kee-nacht." Before the family of O'Cathain (O'Kane) increased in numbers and power, this territory was in the possession of O'Conchobhair of Gleann Geimhin (O'Conor of Glengiven), descended from Fionnachadh Uallach, son of Connla, son of Tadhg, son of Cian; and though so displaced (in the twelfth century) the family was never

A hundred beeves from the Ui Mic Caerthainn<sup>k</sup>  
 And a hundred hogs,—'tis not very trifling,  
 Fifty cows, a lawful payment,  
 Fifty cloaks with white borders.

Three hundred hogs by which the north is replenished,  
 Three hundred cows to feed the host,  
 Three hundred beeves, wealth for war,  
 From Cianachta<sup>l</sup> of the abundant store.

Ten hundred milch-cows from the people of Li<sup>m</sup>,  
 A hundred beeves, it is the award of truth,  
 And fifty oxen of oxen  
 With fifty hogs of heavy bellies.

rooted out, for the "O'Conors" are still numerous in "Glengiven," which was the ancient name of the vale of the river Roa (Roe), near "Dungiven," which flows through the very centre of this Cianachta. —See Dublin Penny Journal, vol. i. p. 108. It is curious to observe the great amount of the tribute paid to the king of Aileach by this exotic tribe of the race of Eibhear, from Munster.

<sup>m</sup> *The people of Li*, called Fir Li and Fir Li of the Bann. They were descended from Laeghaire, son of Fiachra Tort, son of Eochaidh, who was son of Colla Uais, monarch of Ireland, in the fourth century. See *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 76. The country possessed by this sept was sometimes called Magh Li, and sometimes translated *Leaorum fines* [*Trias Thaum.* p. 146], and is described in the Book of Leacan as extending from Bir to Camus. That it was on the west side of the river Bann appears from the Irish Calendar of the O'Clerighs, at 9th January, which places in it the church of Achadh Dubhthaigh

(Aghadowey) a parish on the west side of the Bann, in the barony of "Coleraine."

Thus: "Ḡuaire Beag ó Achadh Dubhthaigh, Moirí, fíorbnú danna, i. e. Guaire Beag from Achadh Dubhthaigh in Magh Li, on the brink of the Banna."

But, on the increasing power of the family of O'Cathain, the Fir Li were driven across the Bann, and were unquestionably on the east side of it at the period of the English invasion. In the translation of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, Colgan errs egregiously in placing this territory, and the mountain of Sliabh Callainn (Slieve Gallion), on the east side of the Bann; for, though the *people* were on the east side of the river in Colgan's, not St. Patrick's time, the mountain, fortunately, remains in its original position, and still shows that Colgan mistranslated his original.—See *Trias Thaum.* pp. 146, 48; also the Editor's translation of the Annals of the Four Masters, p. 58, note b, and Dublin Penny Journal, vol. i., article "Dunseverick," p. 362.

Céolúgach ó Thuathais Tort<sup>18</sup>,  
caeca timb, caeca tort,  
[la]caeca dpat n-batha dó  
ó D(h)án na h-Uióirí a n-aen ló.

Céolmapt ó fearais Muirí  
ir céat lúgach lán buid<sup>17</sup>,  
caeca bpat, ir bpeath chána,  
do ríó Ailíó imdána.

Ní obigeano<sup>18</sup> a Tulaió Og  
cám do ríó Feáil na (b)-fóe,  
oáió gáthar<sup>19</sup> ar a tír ceano  
ríó for fearais Eirio.

Nocho oleágar ar in Chraib  
cír do ríó Ailíó co n-aib,  
ní oleágar a Muirí Itha  
cám ná<sup>20</sup> cachta tap éaem<sup>21</sup> chpícha.

<sup>18</sup> *The Tuathas of Tort*, i.e. of the Uí Tuirtre, a people seated on the east side of the Bann and Lough Neagh, in Antrim. These were also the descendants of Fiachra Tort, the grandson of King Colla Uais.—See *Ogygia* (*ubi supra*). Uí Tuirtre was given as a name to a deanery in the diocese of “Connor,” in Colgan’s time, and its extent can still be determined. The parishes of “Racavan,” “Ramoan,” and “Donnagort,” and the churches of “Down-kelly” (Drummaul), and “Kilgad” (Connor), and the island of Inis Toide in Loch Beag near Toom Bridge, are mentioned as in it.—See Colgan’s *Trias Thaum.* p. 183. The subdivisions of Uí Tuirtre continued to be called “Tuoghs” in the reign of James I., and later.—See Pope Nicholas’ Taxation of Down, Connor and Dromore, by the Rev. William Reeves, M. B.

<sup>19</sup> *Fifty tines*.—It will be observed that the prose has no word corresponding with this.—See above p. 121, note 8, *supra*. We may safely conclude that it is “a salted pig,” or a pig made into bacon.

<sup>20</sup> *Dun na h-Uidhre*.—There is no place of this name now in the territory of Uí Tuirtre.

<sup>21</sup> *Of Magh*.—The prose has *Magh Itha*, which is correct. It is an extensive plain in the barony of “Raphoe,” Donegal. The church of “Donaghmore,” near the little town of Castlefinn, is mentioned in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick (lib. ii. c. 114), as in this plain. See Colgan, *Trias Thaum.* p. 144, and p. 181, note 163, where its position is described by Colgan as follows: “*Per regionem Magh-ithe*, c. 114. Est regiminula campestris Tir-Conalliae ad ripam fluminis Finnei.” According to the bardic

A hundred milch-cows from the Tuathas of Tort<sup>a</sup>,  
Fifty tinnēs<sup>o</sup>, fifty hogs,  
With fifty colored cloaks [are given] to him  
From Dun-na-h-Uidhre<sup>p</sup> in one day.

A hundred beeves from the men of Magh<sup>q</sup>  
And a hundred milch-cows full rich,  
Fifty cloaks, an award of tribute,  
To the intrepid king of Aileach.

There is not due from Tulach Og<sup>r</sup>  
A tribute to the king of Feabhal of the banquets,  
Because it is in its proud land is assumed  
The sovereignty over the men of Eire.

There is not due out of the Craebh<sup>s</sup>  
A tribute to the king of Aileach of comeliness,  
There is not due from Magh Iotha<sup>t</sup>,  
A tribute or tax for their fair territories.

accounts of Ireland, this plain derived its name from Ith, the uncle of Milidh of Spain, who was slain there by the Tuatha de Danaan.—See Keating.

<sup>r</sup> *Tulach Og*.—See page 36, note<sup>b</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>s</sup> *Craebh*.—This territory, which in latter ages belonged to a branch of the family of O'Cathain (O'Kane), who were called Fir na Craeibhe, is situate on the west side of the lower Bann, and its position is defined by the cataract of Eas Craeibhe, i. e. the cataract of Craebh, the daughter of Eoghan mac Duirtheacht, who lived in Dun Da Bheann, now Mount Sandle, and was drowned in this cataract, now called "the Cutts fishery," near Coleraine. O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, p. iii., c. 3. His words are: "Banna inter Leám et Elliam, præter Clanbresail regionem scaturiens per

Neachum lacum transiens Ændromensem agrum et Firriviam (ἦρ ἡν ἡ κραοῖβε) Scriniamque in Londinodorinæ agro intersecat, et tertio a Culranâ et Cataractâ *Eascribe* lapide se in Oceanum transfundit totius Europæ longè fecundissimus." This was exactly the position of the Fir Li in the time of St. Patrick; and it is now difficult to determine where the Fir na Craeibhe were seated at the time this poem was composed. According to tradition in the country the sept called Fir na Craeibhe, which is not incorrectly interpreted "men of the branch," were seated at "Binbradagh, near Dungiven;" this could not have been the case till they dispossessed the more ancient owners of Gleann Geimhin, as above mentioned. See *Annals of the Four Masters*, at the years 1118, 1192, 1205.

<sup>t</sup> *Magh Iotha*.—See p. 124, note<sup>b</sup>, *suprà*.

Ní oleaḡar d'Inir Eoḡain  
cír do'n áipio-piḡ, nac' deolaiḡ;  
ní oleaḡar do éloino Chonaill  
cír, ná béir, ná bán olaino.

Iat ro cána piḡ Ailiḡ;  
ní raí neach nach rap airiḡ<sup>22</sup>;  
ní oligeano pi<sup>23</sup> ná peachte  
in pí nach coimḡeba a ceap<sup>24</sup>.

C[EARC RÍ OILIG].

ATÉAT AND SO<sup>25</sup> oḡra acur tuairpela piḡ Ailiḡ oia  
thuathaiḡ acur oia aicmiḡ, ar diachad acur ar coimideachte.

Oligiò din<sup>26</sup> piḡ Ailiḡ foðépin, in ean nach fa<sup>27</sup> piḡ for Eriub,  
leath lám piḡ Eriub ac ól acur ac aenach, acur péim-imchúr piḡ  
Eriub i (ḡ)-coraiḡ [agur i (ḡ)-cóimòalaiḡ] acur i (ḡ)-coimairliḡ  
acur impiòliḡ.

[Agur] oligiò ó piḡ Eriub caeca claiðeaim acur caeca rciath  
acur caeca moðaiḡ acur caeca eppuḡ acur caeca each: do piḡ Ailiḡ  
ino rin. Foðlaiḡ-peom din<sup>28</sup> a thuairpcol pic:

Cóic rcéith, cóic claiðim acur cóic cuipno acur cóic mná acur  
cóic moḡaiḡ acur cóic eich do piḡ Cairpui Droma Chlaḡ.

Cóic rcéith, cóic moḡaiḡ, cóic mná, cóic claiðim do piḡ Cenél  
n-Aeða Eapa Ruaiḡ.

Sé h-eich, ré rcéit<sup>30</sup>, ré claiðim, ré cuipnn, ré bpuir ḡorma acur  
ré bpuir uainḡ do piḡ Chenél Dóḡaine.

Cóic eich, cóic rcéith, cóic claiðim acur cóic bpuir, [cúig lú-  
peaḡa] do piḡ Chenél n-Eanoa.

Seachte mná, seachte moḡaiḡ, seachte n-eich, sechte (ḡ)-claiðim  
do piḡ Chaeoil Lúḡbach.

Seachte moḡaiḡ, seachte mná, seachte (ḡ)-claiðim, seachte (ḡ)-cuipn  
do piḡ Inori h-Eoḡain.

Sé h-eich, ré cuipní, ré claiðim, ré rcéith<sup>30</sup>, re coin do piḡ Muirí  
Itha.

<sup>25</sup> *Inis Eoghain*, i. e. the island or peninsula of Eoghan, who was son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, monarch of Ireland in the fifth century; *Anglicè* Inishowen, and

sometimes Ennisowen, a barony in the north-east of the county of Donegal.

<sup>26</sup> *Race of Conall*, i. e. the inhabitants of Tír Chonaill; see p. 84, note P, *suprà*.



There is not due from Inis Eoghain<sup>u</sup>

A tribute to the chief king, nor gratuity,

There is not due of the race of Conall

A tribute, or custom, or white (unwrought) wool.

Those are the tributes of the king of Aileach ;

No one is learned who does not well know them ;

No king is entitled to reign or rule

Who does not maintain his right. . . . . THE RIGHT.

THESE ARE the payments and stipends of the king of Aileach to his chieftainries and tribes, for refection and escort.

The king of Aileach himself, then, when he is not king of Eire, is entitled to sit by the side of the king of Eire at banquet and at fair, and to go before the king of Eire at treaties and assemblies and councils and supplications.

And he is entitled to receive from the king of Eire fifty swords and fifty shields and fifty bondmen and fifty dresses and fifty steeds: these for the king of Aileach. He distributes his stipends thus:

Five shields, five swords and five drinking-horns and five women and five bondmen and five steeds to the king of Cairbre Droma Cliabh.

Five shields, five bondmen, five women, five swords to the king of the Cineal Aedha of Eas Ruaidh.

Six steeds, six shields six swords, six drinking-horns, six blue cloaks and six green cloaks to the king of the Cineal Boghaine.

Five steeds, five shields, five swords and five cloaks, five coats of mail to the king of the Cineal Eanna.

\* Seven women, seven bondmen, seven steeds, seven swords to the king of the Cineal Lughdhach.

Seven bondmen, seven women, seven swords, seven drinking-horns to the king of Inis Eoghain.

Six steeds, six drinking-horns, six swords, six shields, six hounds to the king of Magh Iotha.

After the establishment of surnames we find settled there the families of O'Maeldoraidh (O'Muldorys), O'Canannain (O'Canannans), O'Domhnaill (O'Donnells), O'Buighill

(O'Boyles), O'Galchobhair (O'Gallaghers), O'Dochartaigh (O'Dohertys), and various other collateral tribes who are still numerous in the county.

Trí h-eich, trí ríoch<sup>31</sup>, trí claidiú, trí cuirn do ní h-Ua Fíach-  
rach Aíosa Sraetha.

Trí h-eich, trí ríoch<sup>31</sup>, trí claidiú, trí cuirn do ní Feap Fear  
Zuirg.

Trí h-eich, trí ríoch<sup>31</sup>, trí claidiú, trí bhuie uaine do ní na  
Craibí.

Trí mná, trí matail, trí h-inair do ní Ua Mic Cairéain.

Trí h-eich, trí ríoch<sup>31</sup>, trí cuirn, trí claidiú do ní Ciannaéca  
Gleanna Gemin.

Sé mozáid, ré gábra, [ré claidiú], ré ríoch do ní Feap Uí.

Trí mná, trí mozáid, trí h-eich do ní h-Ua Tuirene.

Caeca mozáid acur caeca eppid acur caeca brat acur caeca  
lúipeach do ní Thulcha Og. Conad do'n fogail rin acur do'n roind<sup>32</sup>.  
po cácaim denéin [and po rír .i.] :

A FÍR, dá n-beachair fo éuaid  
cap<sup>33</sup> Magh n-Itha n-imil chruaid,  
indir tuaristal cach aín  
ó níg Ailíg<sup>34</sup> adraó éaín,

An tan nach níg d'Éirind áin  
níg Ailíg co n-adbail cháin,  
oligíó leath-guala<sup>35</sup> cean loct  
ó níg Epeand na n-ápo porre.

Caeca claidiú, caeca ríoch,  
caeca mozáid,—ir mór fíach,  
caeca eppid, caeca each  
do níg Ailíg na n-ápo breath<sup>36</sup>.

Olígíó a nígraid co rath  
ó níg Ailíg na n-arn chath,  
iar ríóir éruadairir<sup>37</sup>, po éluin,  
tuaristail ir tiónóail.

Cúic ríoch, cúic claidiú, [cúig] cuirn,  
cúic eich, cóic mná, mór a muirnn<sup>38</sup>,

<sup>31</sup> *Magh Iotha*.—See p. 124, note <sup>2</sup>, *supra*.

Three steeds, three shields, three swords and three drinking-horns to the king of the Ui Fiachrach of Ard Sratha.

Three steeds, three shields, three swords, three drinking-horns to the king of the Fir Luirg.

Three steeds, three shields, three swords, three green cloaks to the king of Craebh.

Three women, three matals, three tunics to the king of Ui Mic Caerthainn.

Three steeds, three shields, three drinking-horns, three swords to the king of Cianachta Gleanna Geimhin.

Six bondmen, six horses, six swords, six shields to the king of the Fir Li.

Three women, three bondmen, three steeds to the king of Ui Tuirtre.

Fifty bondmen and fifty dresses and fifty cloaks and fifty coats of mail to the king of Tulach Og. Of this division and distribution Benean sang thus as below, viz.:

O MAN, if thou hast gone northwards

Across Magh Iotha' of the hardy border,

Tell the stipend of every one (i. e. chieftain)

From the king of Aileach of the serene brow.

When over noble Eire reigns not

The king of Aileach of the vast tribute

He is entitled to sit without fail

By the side of the king of Eire of noble mansions:

Fifty swords, fifty shields,

Fifty bondmen,—it is a great debt,

Fifty dresses, fifty steeds [from the monarch]

To the king of Aileach of high decisions.

Entitled are his chieftains of prosperity

From the king of Aileach of the armed battalions,

After resting from a hard march, I have heard,

To stipends and gifts.

Five shields, five swords, five drinking-horns,

Five steeds, five women, great their hilarity,

do ríḡ Chairpḡi Droma Cliaḡ  
ó ríḡ Ailíḡ na n-áirḡ íḡian.

Olíḡiḡ rí Cenél n-Aeḡa  
cóic rḡeíḡ, cóic claiḡmí caela,  
cóic moḡaiḡ tap moing maḡa,  
cóic mná ríḡḡa, ríḡ-ḡlana.

Ríḡ Cheneoil Dóḡaine buain  
olíḡiḡ cúic eoḡu<sup>u</sup> maḡo-ḡluaiḡ,  
rḡ rḡeíḡ, rḡ claiḡmí, rḡ cuirḡḡ,  
rḡ bḡuic uaine, rḡ bḡuic ḡuiriḡ.

Olíḡiḡ rí Cenél n-Enḡa  
cóic eich áilli, imḡeḡeḡa,  
cóic rḡeíḡ, cóic claiḡmí chaḡa,  
cóic leanna, cóic lúirḡaḡa.

Olíḡiḡ rí Ceneoil Luḡḡaḡ  
rḡaḡḡ (ḡ)-claiḡmí rḡ cḡuaḡ upḡaḡ,  
rḡaḡḡ mná, rḡaḡḡ moḡaiḡ, co moḡ,  
rḡaḡḡ n-eich ána do'n anḡoḡ.

"*Cairbre of Druim Cliabh*.—This district is now the barony of "Carbury" in the north of the county of Sligo. It is called of Druim Cliabh (Drumcliff), from a famous monastery erected there in the sixth century by St. Colum Cille. The ancient inhabitants of this territory were descended from Cairbre, the third son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. It is curious to observe, that it was considered a part of Ulster, and tributary to the king of Aileach, when this poem was written.—See Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, lib. ii. c. 110, *Trias Thaum.* p. 144, and Genealogies, Tribes, &c. of the Ui Fiachrach, p. 278.

"*Cineal Aedha*, i. e. the race of Aedh, commonly Anglicized "Hugh." This sept

of the race of Conall Gulban was seated in the territory of Tír Aedha, the now barony of "Tirhugh," in the south-west of the county of Donegal. According to O'Dubhagain's topographical poem, O'h-Aedha (now *Anglicé* "Hughes") was the chief of this territory, which was called the Triocha or Cantred of Eas Ruaidh, from the great cataract of that name.—See p. 84, note <sup>q</sup>, *supra*, and Battle of Magh Rath, p. 157, note <sup>u</sup>.

"*Cineal Boghaine*, i. e. the race of Eanna Boghaine, who was the second son of Conall Gulban, the progenitor of all the Cineal Conaill. Their country was called Tír Boghaine, and is included in the present barony of "Banagh," in the west of the county of Donegal. This territory is

To the king of Cairbre of Druim Cliabh<sup>u</sup>  
From the king of Aileach of grand bridles.

Entitled is the king of Cineal Aedha<sup>v</sup>  
To five shields, five slender swords,  
Five bondmen [brought] over the bristling surface of the sea,  
Five fair-haired, truly-fine women.

The king of the Cineal Boghaine<sup>w</sup>, the firm,  
Is entitled to five steeds for cavalry,  
Six shields, six swords, six drinking-horns,  
Six green cloaks, six blue cloaks.

Entitled is the king of Cineal Eanna<sup>x</sup>  
To five beautiful, powerful steeds,  
Five shields, five swords of battle,  
Five mantles, five coats of mail.

Entitled is the king of Cineal Lughdhach<sup>y</sup>  
To seven swords for hard defence,  
Seven women, seven bondmen, early,  
Seven noble steeds to the hero.

described in the Book of Feanach (Fenagh), fol. 47, a, a, as extending from the river Eidhneach (Eany), which falls into the harbour of Inbhear Naile (Inver—the bay of Donegal), to the stream of Dobhar, which flows from the rugged mountains.—See Battle of Magh Rath, p. 156, note p. The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, lib. ii. c. 40, places the mountain of Sliabh Liag in this territory.—See Colgan's *Trias Thaum.* p. 185.

<sup>x</sup> *Cineal Eanna*, i. e. the race of Eanna, the youngest son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. The position of the territory of this tribe is described by Colgan as follows, in a note on the Life of "St. Baithenus:" "Est in Tir Conallia inter duo maris Brachia, nempe inter sinum Loch-Februil et

sinum de Suilech et ab hoc Enna possessam fuisse et nomen sumpsisse tradunt acta Conalli fratris eiusdem Ennae, et aliae passim domesticae hystoriae."—*Acta SS.* p. 370, note 14. The parish of "Taughboyne," *Tearó Baeitín* (i. e. the house of "St. Baithenus"), in the barony of "Raphoe," is in this territory, as appears from Colgan, *loc. cit.* It is stated in the will of Dombnall O'Galchobhair (Donnell O'Gallagher), steward to the celebrated Aedh Ruadh O'Domhnaill (Red Hugh O'Donnell), who died in 1602, that this territory contained thirty quarters of land. According to O'Dubhagáin's topographical poem, "Mag Dubhain" was the chief of this territory.

<sup>y</sup> *Cineal Lughdhach*, i. e. the race of

Óligiú ní Inori h-Eogain

ré moḡaid,<sup>1</sup>— ní mór deolaid,  
 reacht n-eich, reacht mná ear muir móir,  
 péct (ḡ)-cuirn chaema ppi<sup>2</sup> cóim-ól.

Óligiú ní Muirgí Itha

• ré h-eich<sup>1</sup> chaema ear éricha,  
 ré cuirn<sup>2</sup>, ré claidim, ré coin,  
 ré rcéith fínda ear fíoiḡchib<sup>3</sup>.

Óligiú ní h-Ua Fiachrach Fínd<sup>4</sup>

ré<sup>5</sup> h-eich áilli 'c-á deḡ-lir<sup>6</sup>,  
 éirí rcéith, éirí cuirn, éirí claidim  
 ó riḡ echtaé, áro Áilg.

Óligiú riḡ Fear Zuirg, in laech,

éirí h-eich áilli ear<sup>7</sup> áro fíraech,  
 éirí rcéith, éirí claidim corra  
 acur éirí cuirn choim-donna<sup>8</sup>.

Óligiú ní na Craibí cpoó,

éirí h-eich teanda, a (o)-tuairpeol,  
 éirí rcéith, éirí claidim caéa,  
 éirí bpuir uaine, aen-batha.

Óligiú ní h-Ua Mic Cairthaino

éirí h-inair co n-ór fáithim,  
 éirí matail chaema, chána,  
 éirí mná baera dingbála.

Óligiú ní ḡlindí ḡemín

éirí h-eich donda co denim,

Lughaidh, son of Seanna, who was the grandson of Conall Gulban. This was the tribe name of the family of O'Domhnaill (O'Donnells), and, before they became head chiefs of Tir Chonaill, their territory extended from the stream of Dobhar to the river Suilidhe (Swilly). Tulach Dubhghlaise (Tullydouglass), near Kilmacrenan,

was in it.—See Feilire Aenghuis at 9th June; see poem on the divisions of Tir Chonaill, in the Book of Feanach, fol. 47, b, a, and see it quoted in Battle of Magh Rath, pp. 157, 158.

<sup>2</sup> *Inis Eoghain*.—See page 126, note <sup>1</sup>. In the latter ages this territory belonged to O'Dochartaigh (O'Doherty), who was of

Entitled is the king of Inis Eoghain<sup>a</sup>  
 To six bondmen,—no great gratuity,  
 Seven steeds, six women [brought] over the great sea,  
 Seven beautiful horns for drinking.

Entitled is the king of Magh Iotha<sup>a</sup>  
 To six beautiful steeds from [other] countries,  
 Six drinking-horns, six swords, six hounds,  
 Six fair shields from beyond the seas.

Entitled is the king of Ui Fiachrach Fionn<sup>b</sup>  
 To six beautiful steeds at his good lake,  
 Three shields, three drinking-horns, three swords  
 From the mighty-deeded, noble king of Aileach.

Entitled is the king of the Fir Luirg<sup>c</sup>, the hero,  
 To three beautiful steeds [brought] from over the deep sea,  
 Three shields, three polished swords  
 And three brown drinking-horns.

Entitled is the king of the Craebh<sup>d</sup> to a gift,  
 Three strong steeds, as stipend,  
 Three shields, three swords of battle,  
 Three green cloaks, of even color.

Entitled is the king of Ui Mic Caerthainn<sup>e</sup>  
 To three tunics with golden borders,  
 Three beautiful, fair matals,  
 Three befitting bondwomen.

Entitled is the king of Gleann Geimhin<sup>f</sup>  
 To three bay steeds assuredly.

the race of Conall Gulban; but previous to the fourteenth century it belonged to several families of the race of Eoghan, the ancestor of the O'Neills, and was tributary to O'Neill, not to O'Domhnaill.

<sup>a</sup> *Magh Iotha*.—See p. 124, n. <sup>a</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>b</sup> *Ui Fiachrach Fionn*, i. e., the Ui Fiachrach Arda Sratha in Tir Eoghain.—

See p. 121, note <sup>f</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>c</sup> *Men of Lurg*.—See p. 121, n. <sup>c</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>d</sup> *Craebh*.—See p. 125, note <sup>p</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>e</sup> *Ui Mic Caerthainn*.—See p. 122, n. <sup>h</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> *Gleann Geimhin*, i. e. the valley of Geimhin, a man's name. This was the ancient name of the vale of the river Roa (Roe), which runs through the centre of

epí rcéith, epí cuipín, epí claióim  
cach bliadna il-láim riú Ailigh.

Olighó ní Fear Li in lacha  
ré rcéith, ré claióim caeta,  
ré gabra seanra, foela,  
i ré mozáio móir obra.

Olighó ní h-Ua Tuirpre thuaid<sup>40</sup>  
epí gabra meara marc-íluaid,  
epí mná co ceanoaid caetna  
ir epí mozáio móir, daera.

Olighó ní ceano Tulcha Og  
caeca mox pachmar ór rób,  
caeca claióeam, caeca each,  
caeca leano, caeca lúneach.

Atá puno seanchur píl Néill;  
pácbaim il-lebpaib, co lép<sup>40</sup>;  
láim denén, cean omear, n-bil,  
apí do rcpib<sup>41</sup> ann, a fír. . . . . A[FÍR].

### III. 2. Olighéad Rígh Oirghiall.

[Do Oirghiallaib buéarua ríranach.]

DO SEANCHAS Aipghiall and ro [rír]. Ní olighó epá Aipghialla acé ploigead epí cóicethigir<sup>1</sup> cach tpeap bliadain la h-áipd-riú Epino; acur ní thiazaib and rin máo Eapnach acur<sup>2</sup> máo Fógmar; acur pechte (g)-cumála cach fír dís innon in t-[í]loigib rin; acur peachemad cáca h-aithegeana uaidib; acur ní scait .i. n-gait do gniao acé lúga mérlig; acur ní gabthar a n-eitepi i n-glar, nó i plaðpaó, acé lúga fó láim riú, ná [má B.] ééir ar ríaran, nóco n-ázaib foirib thalman nó nime.

the territory of the Cianachta; and "king of Gleann Geimhin" is here intended to mean the same as king of the Cianachta. —

See p. 122, n. <sup>1</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>2</sup> *Fír Li.*—See p. 122, n. <sup>1</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>3</sup> *Tulach Og.*—See p. 36, n. <sup>2</sup>, *suprà*.



Three shields, three drinking-horns, three swords  
Every year from the hand of the king of Aileach.

Entitled is the king of the Fir Li<sup>s</sup> of the lake  
To six shields, six swords of battle,  
Six slender, proud horses,  
And six bondmen of great work.

Entitled is the king of the northern Ui Tuirtre  
To three swift horses for cavalry,  
Three women with fair heads [of hair]  
And three large, enslaved bondmen.

Entitled is the strong king of Tulach Og<sup>a</sup>  
To fifty prosperous bondmen over his fields,  
Fifty swords, fifty steeds,  
Fifty mantles, fifty coats of mail.

Here is the history of Niall's race<sup>1</sup>;  
I find [it] in books, clearly;  
Benعان's faithful hand, without reproach,  
Was the one that wrote it there, O man! . . . O MAN!

### III.—2. THE PRIVILEGES OF THE KING OF THE OIRGHIALLA.

Of the Oirghialla now here below.

OF THE HISTORY of the Oirghialla down here. The Oirghialla are not bound to attend but on a hosting of three fortnights every third year, with the supreme-king of Eire; and they do not then go if it be Spring or Autumn; and seven cumhals (bondwomen) for every man of them [lost] on that hosting; and they make restitution, in the seventh part only; and they pay not, for the theft they may commit, if the thief's oath [deny it]; and their hostages are not bound in fetters, nor in chains, save that they swear by the hand of the king that they will not then make their escape, [and] if then they do depart, that they shall not have the inheritance of earth or heaven.

<sup>1</sup> *Niall's race*.—See p. 120, n. <sup>2</sup>, *supra*. of this race since the introduction of Christianity.  
All the kings of Aileach and Uladh were

Oleagaidh dno epian cacha  
 eoraidh ó níg Eirinn .i. epian na d-  
 notha .i. cuite níg Ulaib ar n-bíth  
 Ulaib i (g)-cath Achaidh Leith-  
 dheirg lair na (b)-Trí Colla; acur  
 foraidh níg Airgiall láim ré foraidh  
 níg Eirinn i (b)-Taillein acur a  
 n-Uirneach acur ar fep na Sam-  
 na; acur ipead a thomhar comg  
 nua a claidheam láim níg h-Eirinn;  
 acur ip leir tìonocól cach threap  
 cuirn do roa co níg Teamrach.  
 Epian cacha n-oleagaidh ó níg  
 Eirinn dligh ó ríl Colla Meand  
 uaidib-peom ar a beith 'n-a  
 epén-feap. An cuopuma bíp  
 (do) níg Airgiall ó níg Team-  
 rach, ipead rín dlighir a nígán ó  
 nígáin níg h-Eirinn. Conad dób  
 no chead denéan and ro:

[Oleagaidh dno epian gac co-  
 baidh ó ríl Ailigh agur epian in  
 epin rín la ríl Colla Meand;  
 agur foraidh ríl Oirgiall rín fo-  
 ruib níg Tailtean; agur ipead a  
 thomhar goma nua claidheam níg  
 Airgiall co h-ino a láim in a-  
 leam; agur ip leir tìonocól gacá  
 threap cuirn do roa co ríl Team-  
 rach. A nígán an cumat céanna.  
 Conid dób no claidheam denén in  
 raeap-ra ríl, B.]:

### EISTIG cain cluinebair reanchur ao féidm:

<sup>1</sup> *They are entitled.*—This passage differs  
 widely in the two copies, and both ver-  
 sions are here given in the text in full,  
 that from the Book of Leacan in the left-  
 hand columns, that from the Book of Baile  
 an Mhuta in the right-hand columns.

<sup>2</sup> *Battle of Achadh Leith-dheirg.*—This  
 battle was fought A. D. 332. The place  
 is mentioned by Tighearnach as situate in  
 that part of the country of the Oirghialla  
 called Fearn-mhagh, the now barony of  
 "Farney," in the county of Moha-  
 ghan. The Editor, when he visited the  
 county of Down several years since, thought  
 that it might be "Aghaderg near Lough-

brickland," but he has been long since  
 convinced that this is an error, inasmuch  
 as Fearn-mhagh is unquestionably the pre-  
 sent barony of Farney, in the county of  
 Monaghan, and the parish of "Aghderg,"  
 Ait veap, i. e. the red ford, is in the  
 country into which the ancient Ultonians  
 were driven, and of which they retained  
 possession. The battle was fought many  
 miles to the west of Gleann Righe, which  
 is the vale of the Newry river, beyond  
 which the Ultonians were driven; and it is  
 remarked in the accounts of the battle of  
 Achadh Leith-dheirg, that they never ex-  
 tended their kingdom beyond it, for that a

They are entitled, too, to the third part of every [casual] revenue from the king of Eire, for instance, the third part of the Borumha, that is, the king of Uladh's share after the overthrow of the men of Uladh, in the battle of Achadh Leith-dheirg<sup>t</sup>, by the Three Collas; and the seat of the king of the Oirghialla, next the seat of the king of Eire, at Tailte and at Uisneach and at the feast of Samhain [at Teamhair or Tara] and the distance [between them] is such that his sword would reach the hand of the king of Eire; and it belongs to him to present every third drinking-horn that is brought to the king of Teamhair. The third part of what he is entitled to get from the king of Eire the race of Colla Meann are entitled to receive from him on account of his having been a mighty man. The same portion which the king of the Oirghialla receives from the king of Eire, his queen is entitled to receive from the queen of the king of Eire. Of these Benean composed this [poem]:

HEARKEN ! that ye may hear  
The history which I relate:

They are entitled, too, to a third of every levy [of tribute or prey] from the king of Aileach, and one-third of that third is due to the descendants of Colla Meann; and the seat of the king of the Oirghialla is near the seat of the king of Tailte; and its distance from him is, that the sword of the king of Oirghialla should reach the top of his (the king's) butler's hands; and to him belongs the presenting of every third drinking-horn which is brought to the king of Teamhair. His queen is entitled to the same privilege. And for them did Benean sing this work below:

definite boundary was formed on *this* side of Gleann Righe, from Newry upwards [i. e. northwards]. See MS. cited p. 36, n. <sup>e</sup>, *suprà*. This boundary still remains in

tolerable preservation, and is now known in Irish by the name of Gleann na Muice Duibhe, i. e., "the valley of the black pig," and "the Danes' Cast" in English.

aenta áro Aingiallach  
ráio fíu níg Éimno.

Oleagar<sup>1</sup> ó Aingiallaib  
iar reachtaib ríagla  
ríogad éirí cóicchiúir<sup>2</sup>  
i (g)-cino teora bliadna.

Ní 'n-Éarrach thiaagar-peom',  
iréad do chualá,  
nárr fop éino Fógamaíur  
fíu bpuime buada<sup>3</sup> [buana B.].

Seacht (g)-céat a (o)-tachamla<sup>4</sup>  
iar n-bul ó thuathail<sup>5</sup>,  
reacht (g)-céat dóib, atháppach<sup>6</sup>,  
do réadaib ríuagairg;

Slua<sup>7</sup>as oar Aingiallaib  
can iaracht n-áppach,  
reacht (g)-cumála dóib-ríom  
ino rap na m-áppach.

Dia marbap moilí,—  
o laíóib luaióib,—

<sup>1</sup> *A hosting of three fortnights.*—This differs but little from the service of a knight's fee in the feudal system, by which the knight was bound to attend the king in his wars for forty days every year.—Coke upon Littleton, ss. 75, 76, and Blackstone's Commentaries, book i. c. 13. See Tribes and Customs of the Ui Maine, p. 67, where it is stated that if the king of Connacht should continue longer than six weeks on an expedition, the forces which he had levied in Ui Maine (who were, as is there shown, an offset of the Oirghialla) might return home.

<sup>1</sup> *Nor during the Autumn.*—See Tribes and Customs of the Ui Maine, p. 67, where it is stated that the tribes of that territory were freed from the hostings of Spring and Autumn, and that there was no power to ask them against their will. This is a very curious privilege, ceded or continued to a race after they had left their original province.

<sup>2</sup> *Seven hundred*, i. e. should the Oirghialla send seven hundred men to assist the monarch on an expedition, he should pay each of them a *sead* or cow. The term *reb*, or *reob*, is used throughout the

The great compact of the Oirghialla  
I recite [made] with the king of Eire.

There is due of the Oirghialla  
By statutes of regulation  
A hosting for three fortnights<sup>a</sup>  
Every three years.

Not in Spring they ever go,  
This is what I have heard,  
Nor at the beginning of Autumn<sup>1</sup>  
On the eve of reaping.

Seven hundred is their rising-out  
On going forth from their territories,  
Seven hundred<sup>m</sup> [are given] to them, in return,  
Of cows for the hosting;

A hosting across Oirghialla  
Without respite for the debt,  
Seven cumhals<sup>a</sup> to them are to be given  
For it on the morrow.

If they should kill cattle,—  
In poems it is mentioned,—

Brehon Laws to denote a full-grown cow.

It is stated in the tract already cited, p. 86, n. <sup>c</sup>, that the king of the Oirghialla was bound to go with his rising-out on an expedition with the monarch for six weeks every third year (but not in Spring or Autumn), and that each of their chieftains was paid twenty-one cows as wages, during that time.

<sup>a</sup> *Seven cumhals*.—A cumhal was a bondmaid, and her value was equal to that of three cows. Ware quotes an old Irish canon, which says: "Whoever shall presume to steal or plunder anything that be-

longs to the king or a bishop, or shall commit any outrage against them, or shall offer any contempt to them, he shall pay the price of seven bondwomen, or shall do penance with the bishop for seven years. See his work on the *Antiquities of Ireland*, c. xx. It is stated in the tract on Oirghialla just referred to, that if their country should be plundered while the forces of Oirghialla were away on an expedition with the monarch, the latter should give them six cows for every cow which had been carried away by the plunderers.

peacheta each aitheana  
 do bhronnadh uaidib.

Máó luibí lícheap-ronn  
 in n-ghnímaib gheimhí,  
 nochó oleaigh uib-peom<sup>11</sup>  
 aet luigi [an] mérligh.

Airear na n-Airghiallach,—  
 cia<sup>12</sup> eáir ar amlaigh,—  
 aet luigi an airear  
 cean glar, cean e-flaithre.

Dia n-elóda<sup>13</sup> in e-airear,—  
 féib eolar saerda  
 ní talmain toghaib  
 ní ním naemda.

Oligiú rígh Airghiall,  
 fó Eriub no ráid,—  
 do rígaib peacheta  
 trian cacha toparid.

A érian in érin rin,  
 co fíir níí fanda,  
 la Colla móir Meanta<sup>14</sup>  
 mac-flaith na (g)-Colla.

<sup>11</sup> *The seventh of each restitution*, i. e. whatever trespass they may commit in killing or injuring cattle, they are bound to pay only the seventh part of the fine which the general law imposes. This was a strange privilege, and, like their other privileges, seems to have had its origin in the presumed high bearing of the Oirghialla.

<sup>12</sup> *Without a fetter or chain*, i. e. when the hostage takes an oath, that is, as the prose has it, swears by the hand of the

king, that he will not escape from his captivity, he is left without a fetter; but if he should afterwards escape, he then loses his caste, and is regarded as a perjured man. The tract on Oirghialla states, that whenever the hostage of the Oirghialla was fettered, golden chains were used for the purpose, and that it was hence they were called Oirghialla, i. e. of the golden hostages.

<sup>13</sup> *To the third of each profit*. — See Tribes and Customs of the Ui Maine, pp. 63, 64, 65, where it is stated that the king

The seventh [part only] of each restitution in kind<sup>o</sup>  
Is given by them.

If they are charged upon oath  
With deeds [deserving] of fetters,  
They are not bound to produce  
But the oath of the thief.

The hostage of the Oirghialla,—  
Though in such case he may escape,—  
Save the oath of the hostage  
He is left without fetter, without chain<sup>p</sup>.

If the hostage should elope,—  
According to the law of bondage  
He is not fit for earth  
Nor for holy heaven.

Entitled is the king of the Oirghialla,  
Throughout Eire 'tis known,—  
From the rightful kings  
To the third of each profit<sup>a</sup>.

The third of that third,  
Truly not feeble,  
Belongs to the great Colla Meann<sup>r</sup>,  
The youngest prince of the Collas.

of Connacht ceded the following emoluments to the people of that territory, who were a colony from the eastern or original Oirghialla, planted in Connacht after the establishment of Christianity, viz., the third part of every treasure found hidden or buried in the depths of the earth, and the third part of the eric for every man of their people that is killed, and the third part of every treasure thrown by the sea into the harbours of Connacht. There is a resemblance here to the Gallo-Norman feudal

privileges of *treasure-trove*, *jetsom*, &c.

<sup>r</sup> *Colla Meann*.—The race of Colla Meann were the inhabitants of Cricoch Mughdhorn, "Cremorne," in Monaghan, and not the mountainous country of "Mourne," in the east of Ulster, as stated in O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 76. The mountainous territory in the east of Ulster belonged to the ancient Ullta, not to the Oirghialla. From Colla Uais, the eldest of the brothers, the "Mac Donnells, Mac Dugalds, and Mac Allisters" of Scotland, with their

D'cheaghlaid Éirinn  
co fopuó na Teamrach<sup>15</sup>  
fopaó níg Airgíall  
fop deir níg Tailtean.

Tomar an fopaó rin,  
co fír ní h-ainfir<sup>16</sup>,  
co ría a éruaó a élaideam-ron  
ní [in B.] báileam daiglip.

Olígió níg Airgíall  
reach cach epiach epeóach  
cac thear copn déig-leanda  
fop deir níg Teamrach.

Olígió a nígán-ron,  
cean bréic, cean baili,  
in cumao céatna rin  
ó'n nígáin aili.

Aitcheam in Duileamón,  
na n-uili n-eríó,  
in t-áirío-níg, aóamra,  
oiríoió, éiríó. . . . . ÉISTÍÓ.

TUARASTOL níg Airgíall ó níg Éirinn ano ro [rír], acur  
tuapiríol tuath Airgíall ó níg Airgíall fopérin.

Olígió óin níg Airgíall céaoamur ó níg h-Éirinn raep-géillrine  
fop a gíallaid; acur a n-aichní il-láim níg Teamrach, acur a

correlatives, sprung; and from Colla Da Chrioch came the families of Mac Mathghabhna (Mac Mahons), Mac Uidhir (Maguires), O'h-Anluain (O'Hanlons), Mac Anna (Mac Canns), and other families of the Oirghialla (Oriel). It is also stated that the families of O'Floinn (O'Lyn), &c., of Magh Line (Moylinny), and Mac Aedha (Magee)

of the island of Rinn Sibhne, now "Island Magee," are of the race of Colla Uais. According to O'Dubhagain's Topographical Poem O'Machaidhen was the chief of Crioeh Mughdhorn.

<sup>15</sup> *Reach his sword.*—It is stated in the tract on Oirghialla, that the king of the Clann Colla was entitled to sit by the side



[Everywhere] from the mansions [of the chiefs] of Eire  
 To the throne of Teamhair,  
 The throne (seat) of the king of the Oirghialla  
 Is at the right of the king of Tailte [i. e. of Ireland].

The distance of that seat,  
 Truly 'tis no mistake,  
 [Is such] that his hard sword should reach  
 The cup-bearer who distributes.

Entitled is the king of the Oirghialla  
 Beyond each lord of tribes  
 To every third horn of goodly ale  
 On the right of the king of Teamhair.

Entitled is his queen, [too],  
 Without falsehood, without boasting,  
 To the same distinction  
 From the other queen.

We implore the Creator,  
 [The receiver] of all supplications,  
 The supreme-king, adorable,  
 Venerated, to hear us. . . . . HEARKEN !

THE STIPEND of the king of Oirghialla from the king of Eire down here, and the stipends of the chieftainries of Oirghialla from the king of Oirghialla himself.

The king of the Oirghialla in the first place is entitled to get from the king of Eire free hostageship for his hostages; and their custody to be in the hand of the king of Teamhair (Tara), and they are to be

of the king of Ireland, and all the rest were the length of his hand and sword distant from the king. See the Banquet of Dun na n-Geadh, Battle of Magh Rath, p. 29. St. Bernard, in the Life of St. Malachy, says that the Oirghialla would not allow any bishop among them except one of their

own family, and that they had carried this through fifteen generations; and he adds immediately after, that they had claimed the see of Ard Macha, and maintained possession of it for two hundred years, claiming it as their indubitable birth-right. See Colgan's *Trias Thaum.* pp. 801, 802.

n-éireas acur a m-biathaó dóib, acur a m-beith a rúimib riú<sup>17</sup>; acur meath dóib-feom má forluiofeas<sup>18</sup> ar a n-géillpíne.

Dlíóó pí h-Ua Niallán chéasamur epí rcéith acur epí claidim acur epí cuipinn acur epí h-eich ó riú Eirib [in] rin.

Cóic bpuite corora acur cóic claidim acur cóic eich do riú h-Ua m-óreapail.

Sé bpuite acur ré rcéith acur ré claidim acur ré cuipin acur ré h-eich do riú h-Ua n-Eachach.

Ceithri cuipinn acur ceithri claidim acur ceithri rcéith, [ceithri bpuite] do riú h-Ua Meith.

Trí bpuite acur epí rcéith acur epí claidim acur epí lúipeacha do riú h-Ua n-Dorain.

Sé h-eich, ré moǵaib, ré mná do pí h-Ua m-óruin Archoill<sup>19</sup>.

Ocht m-bpuite acur ocht n-eich acur ocht rcéith acur ocht (g)-claidim acur ocht (g)-cuipin acur ocht moǵaib do riú Leamna acur h-Ua Creadhthano acur Sil n-Duibhíri.

Trí h-eich, epí rcéith, epí claidim, epí bpuite, epí lúipeacha do riú Leithreano<sup>20</sup>.

Ceithri h-eich, ceithri moǵaib, ceithri claidim, [ceithri rcéit] do riú Daperaib Coindibiri.

Sé lúipeacha, ré cuipin, ré rcéith, ré claidim, ré mná, ré fich-éilla do riú Fearn-muigi.

Cóic<sup>21</sup> bpuite, cóic<sup>21</sup> rcéith, cóic<sup>21</sup> claidim, cóic<sup>21</sup> longa, [ré lúipeacha] do pí Fear Manach.

Sé moǵaib, ré rcéith, ré claidim, ré cuipin, dá bpat déc do riú Muǵóorin ip Rop<sup>22</sup>. Conib do éoméas na cána rin acur in to-chair rin por riú<sup>23</sup> denén [in raite] ano ro [rír].

IN chÉIST-sea for chloim Colla  
for plúag luchair Liath-ópoma  
can fír a (o)-tuapartail tall  
ó riú Fuaid na (b-)fuid fearano.

<sup>1</sup> *Liath-druim*, i. e. the hill of Liath the son of Laighne Leathan-ghlas. See Petrie's *Antiquities of Tara Hill*, p. 108. This was an old name of Teamhair (Tara).

<sup>2</sup> *Fuaid*.—Usually called Sliabh Fuaid,

a mountain in the county of Armagh, the highest of "the Fews" mountains. See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. cc. iv. and xvi., and Keating's *History of Ireland*, Holiday's Edition, pp. 168, 300, 382. Its

clothed and fed by them, and they are to be in the secrets of the king; and withering (a curse) is upon them if they escape from their hostage-ship.

The king of the Ui Niallain, in the first place, is entitled to three shields and three swords and three drinking-horns and three steeds from the king of Eire.

Five scarlet cloaks and five swords and five steeds to the king of Ui Breasail.

Six cloaks and six shields and six swords and six drinking-horns and six steeds to the king of Ui Eachach.

Four drinking-horns and four swords and four shields, four cloaks to the king of Ui Meith.

Three cloaks and three shields and three swords and three coats of mail to the king of Ui Dortain.

Six steeds, six bondmen, six women to the king of Ui Briuin Archoill.

Eight cloaks and eight steeds and eight shields and eight swords and eight drinking-horns and eight bondmen to the king of Leamhain and Ui Creamhthainn and Siol Duibhthire.

Three steeds, three shields, three swords, three cloaks, three coats of mail to the king of Leithrinn.

Four steeds, four bondmen, four swords, four shields to the king of Dartraidhe Coinninnse.

Six coats of mail, six drinking horns, six shields, six swords, six women, six chess-boards to the king of Fearn-mhagh.

Five cloaks, five shields, five swords, five ships, six coats of mail to the king of the Feara Manach.

Six bondmen, six shields, six swords, six drinking-horns, twelve cloaks to the king of Mughdhorn and Ros. It was to preserve this regulation and this tribute that Benean the sage wove this [poem] below here:

THIS DIFFICULTY [rests] upon the race of the Collas,  
 Upon the bright host of Liath-druim<sup>t</sup>  
 [That they] know not their own stipends, there,  
 From the king of Fuaid<sup>u</sup> of fair lands.

position is marked on an old map in the State Papers' Office, London, under the name

of "Sliew Fudeh," which is an attempt at writing *Slíab Fuaid*.

Atá runo; ploinofeas-ra daib<sup>28</sup>  
 reanchor éloim: Cairbhí cáim<sup>29</sup>;  
 cluinig, a luce Fáil na (b)-Fian,  
 tuairpeola áili Airgiall.

Olighó ní Airgiall co n-aib  
 ó nig h-Eirno aigea<sup>30</sup> chaín  
 raen-géllrine,—raen a chor,  
 tuairpeol ir éionocol.

Nae n-géill do ní Fóela an feacht  
 do deoin<sup>31</sup> nig Airgiall, aen-feacht  
 a n-aení ac ní Claceta éair,  
 cean chapera acur cean cheangal<sup>32</sup>.

Eppaó á n-dingbála dóib,  
 each, claidéam co n-éleatib óir,  
 cocor<sup>33</sup> cumairg, cúmbairg niam  
 o'aireuib áili Airgiall.

Meath dóib-peom dia n-élae ar,  
 mepa do'n nig gebeap glar<sup>34</sup>;  
 acé rin, ní blig neach ní de  
 do nig Airgiall oirnióe.

Trí rcéich, trí claidim, trí cuinn,  
 trí h-eich, trí mná, móp a<sup>35</sup> muinn,  
 do ní h-Ua Niallám niam éloch  
 ó<sup>36</sup> nig Eirno na n-uap loch.

Tuairpeol nig h-Ua in-óneapail  
 trí bpuic éopera ir caem chapar,

<sup>28</sup> *The race of fair Cairbre*, i. e. the Oirghialla, descended from Cairbre Lifeachair, monarch of Ireland, A. D. 277. See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 70; and see also Mr. Shirley's recent work, cited p. 153, n. <sup>k</sup>, *infra*, p. 147.

<sup>29</sup> *Nine hostages*, i. e. a hostage for each cantred, for Oirghialla consisted of nine Triocho Ceads. *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 29.

<sup>30</sup> *The Uí Niallain*, Anglicized into "Oneiland," a territory now divided into two baronies (east and west) in Armagh.

Here it is: I shall tell to you  
 The history of the race of fair Cairbre\*;  
 Hear, ye people of Fail of the Fians,  
 The grand stipends of the Oirghialla.

Entitled is the majestic king of Oirghialla,  
 From the king of Eire of the benign countenance,  
 To free hostageship,—generous his engagement,  
 To stipend and presents.

Nine hostages\* [are given] to the king of Fodhla truly  
 By consent of the king of the Oirghialla, together  
 To be kept by the king of Tlachtgha in the east,  
 Without incarceration and without fettering.

A befitting attire for them,  
 A steed, a sword with studs of gold,  
 Secret confidence, elegant apartments  
 For the comely hostages of the Oirghialla.

Withering (a curse) upon them if they elope thence,  
 Still worse for the king who will put on the fetter;  
 Save that, no one is entitled to aught  
 From the illustrious king of the Oirghialla.

Three shields, three swords, three drinking-horns,  
 Three steeds, three women, great their merriment,  
 To the king of Ui Niallain\* of shining fame  
 From the king of Eire [Oirghialla] of the cold lakes.

The stipend of the king of Ui Breasail\* [is]  
 Three purple cloaks of fine brilliance,

The Niallan from whom this tribe derive  
 their name and origin was the son of Fiach,  
 son of Feidhlim, son of Fiachra Casan, who  
 was son of Colla Da Chrioch. See *Ogygia*,  
 part iii. c. 76. Daire, who granted the site  
 of the cathedral of Armagh to St. Patrick

was the chief of this tribe.

\* *Ui Breasail*.—These were otherwise  
 called *Ui Breasail Macha*, and were de-  
 scended from Breasal, son of Feidhlim,  
 son of Fiachra Casan, son of Colla Da  
 Chrioch. See *Ogygia*, *ubi supra*. In lat-

cóic rcéith, cóic claidmí cacha,  
cóic eich diana, deágh-átha.

Uligiú pí h-Ua n-Eachach áir<sup>27</sup>  
cóic<sup>36</sup> bpuie éopera cheathap áir<sup>39</sup>,  
cóic<sup>36</sup> rcéith, cóic<sup>36</sup> claidmí, cóic<sup>36</sup> cuirn,  
cóic<sup>36</sup> eich glara, gabal-ghuirm.

Uligiú pí h-Ua Meith, in mál,  
ó nḡ Macha na mór óál

ter ages this territory was more usually called Clann Breasail (*Anglicè* Clanbrazil). According to O'Dubhagain's Topographical Poem, the tribe of O'Gairbheath (O'Garveys) were the ancient chiefs of this territory, but in more modern times it belonged to the "Mac Canns," who are not of the Ui Niallain race, but descend from Rochadh, son of Colla Da Chrioch. This territory is shown on a map of Ulster made in the reign of Elizabeth (or James I.), as on the south of "Lough Neagh," where the upper Bann enters that lake, from which, and from the space given it, it appears to be co-extensive with the present barony of "Oneilland East." This view shows that in the formation of the baronies more than one territory was placed in that of "Oneilland;" and the fact is that all the eastern part of Oirghialla, called Oirthear, was occupied by septs of the race of Niallan, that district including the present baronies of East and West "Oneilland" and also those of East and West "Orior;" for the sept of O'h-Anluain (O'Hanlons), who possessed the two latter baronies, were descended from the aforesaid Niallan.

<sup>2</sup> *Ui Eachach*, i. e. the descendants of Eochaidh, son of Feidhlim, son of Fiachra Casan, son of Colla Da Chrioch. This tribe

is to be distinguished from the Ui Eachach Uladh, or ancient inhabitants of the baronies of "Iveagh," in the county of Down, who were of the Clanna Rudhraidhe. They were a tribe of the Oirghialla, descended from Eochaidh, son of Cairbre Damh-airgid, chief of the Oirghialla in the time of Saint Patrick. This sept were seated in the district of Tuath Eachadha, i. e. Eochaidh's district, a territory comprised in the present barony of "Armagh." This district is mentioned in the *Annals* of the Four Masters at the year 1498, and it is shown on the old Map of Ulster, already referred to, as "Toaghie," and represented as the country of "Owen mac Hugh mac Neale mac Art O'Neale."

<sup>3</sup> *Ui Meith*, i. e. the descendants of Muireadhach Meith, the son of Iomchadh, who was the son of Colla Da Chrioch. There were two territories of this name in Oirghialla, one called sometimes Ui Meith Tire, from its inland situation, and sometimes Ui Meith Macha, from its contiguity to Armagh; and the latter Ui Meith Mara, from its contiguity to the sea. The latter was more anciently called Cuailghne, and its name and position are preserved in the Anglicized name of "O'Meath," a district in the county of Louth, comprising ten

Five shields, five swords of battle,  
Five swift, goodly-colored steeds.

Entitled is the king of Ui Eachach\*, the noble,  
To five purple cloaks of four points,  
Five shields, five swords, five drinking-horns,  
Five grey, dark-forked steeds.

Entitled is the king of Ui Meith\*, the hero,  
From the king of Macha (of Oirghialla) of great meetings

townlands, situate between Carlingford and Newry. The former, which is evidently the country of the Ui Meith referred to in *Leabhar na g-Cearr*, is a territory in the present county of Monaghan, comprising the parishes of "Tullycorbet, Kilmore, and Tehallan," in the barony of Monaghan. Colgan has the following note in editing the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, lib. iii. c. 9:

"Regio dicta *Hua-Meith* hodie O'Meith est in Orientali parte Ultoniæ, hinc Airthea, id est Orientalis dicta, et pars ejus mari vicinior *Hua-Meith-mara*, i. e. Hua Methia maritima, et pars a mari remotior comparatione prioris *Hua-Meith-tire*, i. e. Hua Methia terre sive continentis quia continenti Ultoniæ jacet: hic et ab aliis priscis scriptoribus vocatur. Nomen illud *Hua-Meith* i. e. posterorum Meith, videtur sortita a posteris Muredachi cognomento Meith, id est Obesi, filii Imchadli filii Colla-da-Chrioch; de quo Sanctilogium Genealogicum, c. 13, latè in eo tractu tempore Patricii et postea dominantibus: *Trias Thaum*. p. 184, n. 16.

From this note O'Flaherty, and from both Harris, in his edition of Ware's Antiquities, have concluded that "Hy-Meith-tire" was the barony of Orior (O'Hanlon's

country) in the county of Armagh; but incorrectly, for we have irrefragable evidence to prove that Ui Meith Tire was much further to the west. 1. The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick places the church of Togh-Thellain, i. e. Teach Theallain, *Anglice* "Tehallan," in the barony of Monaghan, in *regione de Hua-Meith-tire*, a territory adjoining to *regio Mugdornorum*, which is the Latinized form of Cricth Mughdhorna, "Cremorne," in Monaghan, in which the Tripartite Life places the church of Domhnach Maighean (Donaghmoyne). 2. We learn from the Irish Calendar of the O'Clerighs, at 26th January, that Tulach Carboid (Tullycorbet, in the said parish of Tehallan), was *in-Ui Meith Macha*, i. e. in Ui Meith Macha. 3. It appears from the same Calendar, that Cill Mor, the church of St. Aedhan mac Aenghusa, is in the territory of Ui Meith, and this is unquestionably the church of "Kilmore," near the town of Monaghan. 4. Colgan, *Acta SS.* p. 713, places the church of Mucnamh (Mucknoe), at Castleblayney, in this territory. Hence the conclusion is inevitable, that the territory of the Ui Meith Tire, Ui Meith Macha, was in the present county of Monaghan, and not in that of Armagh. We have, moreover, the authority of the

ceit̃r̃i cloid̃m, ceit̃r̃i cuir̃n,  
ceit̃r̃i b̃ruit, ceit̃r̃i h-ẽc̃ g̃uir̃m.

Tuair̃it̃ol ñig̃ h-Ua n-D̃or̃cain<sup>40</sup>  
t̃r̃i b̃ruit c̃or̃c̃ra co c̃or̃p̃t̃ar̃,  
t̃r̃i r̃c̃ẽit̃h, t̃r̃i claid̃m cãc̃a,  
t̃r̃i l̃eñda, t̃r̃i l̃úneach̃a.

Ol̃ig̃ĩo r̃í h-Ua m-D̃m̃úin Ãr̃choill<sup>41</sup>  
t̃r̃i h-iñar̃ co n-ó̃r̃ fá̃ic̃im,  
r̃é h-ẽich, r̃é mõg̃aĩo m̃alla,  
r̃é mñá c̃ãer̃a d̃ing̃b̃ála<sup>42</sup>.

Ol̃ig̃ĩo r̃í h-Ua Tũir̃ẽre ĩr̃ t̃r̃i<sup>43</sup>,  
c̃úair̃it̃ol ãil̃i d̃ẽ'ñ ñig̃.

Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, to show that it met the barony of Cremorne at a place called Omna Renne, where their ancestor Muireadhach was interred. "Sepultus autem est [Muredachus] in confinibus Huius Methiorum et Mugdornorum in loco Omna Renne nuncupato, qui licet sit in limitibus utriusque regionis ad jus tamen Mugdornorum spectat."—*Vita Tripart.* lib. iii., c. 11. *Trias Thaum.* p. 151.

All our modern writers, even to the present, have been led astray by the assumption that the Cricoch Mughdhorna of the ancient writers is the present mountainous barony of "Mourne;" but as that territory is on the east side of the boundary at Gleann Bighe, it could not have been a part of "Oriol," and consequently not the country of the descendants of Mughdhorn Dubh, the son of Colla, which lay far west of Gleann Bighe. It appears from a pedigree of the "Mac Mahons," in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, that the mountainous district of Mourne in Uladh (which originally bore the appropriate appellation

of Beanna Boiriche, see p. 38, note 8, *supra*), was so called from a tribe of the inhabitants of Cricoch Mughdhorn in Oirghialla, who emigrated thither in the reign of Niall the Haughty, the son of Aedh, who was son of Maghnus Mac Mathghamhna. See the Annals of the Four Masters at the year 1457, where a range of heights in "Cremorne" is called Sliabh Mughdhorn, i. e. *mons Mugdornorum*. According to O'Dubhagain the tribes of O' h-Innreachtaigh (O'Hanrattys) were the ancient chiefs of Ui Meith Macha, and this is confirmed by the tradition in the country which remembers that they were the ancient chieftains of this part of the county of Monaghan before they were dispossessed by the sept of Mac Mathghamhna (Mac Mahons). It also adds that Maeldold, the patron saint of Mucnamh (Mucknoe, at Castle Blayney), was of the same stock as the Ui Innreachtaigh (O'Hanrattys), the ancient dynasts of the district. This curious tradition is fully borne out by the following note in Colgan's *Trias Thaum.*, p. 184, on



To four swords, four drinking-horns,  
Four cloaks, four iron-grey steeds.

The stipend of the king of the Ui Dortain<sup>b</sup> [is]  
Three purple cloaks with borders,  
Three shields, three swords of battle,  
Three mantles, three coats of mail.

Entitled is the king of Ui Briuin Archoill<sup>c</sup>  
To three tunics with golden hems,  
Six steeds, six heavy bondmen,  
Six befitting bondwomen.

Entitled is the king of Ui Tuirtre<sup>d</sup> in his land  
To another stipend from the king;

"Eugenius" (Eoghan), the chief of this territory in St. Patrick's time. *Vit. Tripart.* part iii. c. 11. "Fuit hic Eugenius ex Briano filio nepos Muredachi Meith a quo diximus num. 16, regionem illam *Hua Meith* nomen desumpsisse; vt colligitur ex Genealogiâ S. Maldodij Abbatis ejusdem regionis, quæ *Mucnamia* dicitur, quam Sanctilogium Genealogicum, cap. 13, sic tradit. *S. Maldodius de Mucnam, filius Fingini, filij Aidi, filij Fiachrij, filij Fiachæ, filij Eugenij, filij Briani, filij Muredachi, filij Colla fochrich.* Colitur autem S. Maldodius 18 Maij juxta dicenda postea de ipso.—*Trias Thaum.*, page 184, note 19. See also Mac Fírbisigh's pedigree of O'h-Innreachtaigh.

<sup>b</sup> *Ui Dortain*.—These were otherwise called *Ui Tortain*, i. e. the descendants of Dortan or Tortan, son of Fiach, son of Feidhlim, son of Fiachra, who was son of Colla Da Chrioch. This was in that part of Oirghialla included in the present county of Meath, in which the celebrated old tree called Bile Tortan, which stood near "Ard-

braccan", was situate. See O'Fla. *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 60; Book of Baile an Mhuta, fol. 229, b.; Colgan, *Trias Thaum.* p. 129, c. ii.; and p. 184, n. 23, 24; and Feilire Aenghus, 8 July.

<sup>c</sup> *Ui Briuin Archoill*, i. e. the descendants of Brian of Archoill, who was the son of Muireadhach Meith, the progenitor of the *Ui Meith*. See Dubhaltach Mac Fírbisigh's genealogical work, p. 309.—Colgan thinks that this was the district in Tyrone called Muintir Birn in his own time, which is a district shown on the old map of Ulster, already referred to, as a district in the south of the barony of "Dungannon," adjoining the territory of "Trough," in the county of Monaghan, and "Toaghie," now the barony of Armagh. See *Trias Thaum.*, p. 184, n. 2. In St. Patrick's time the Oirghialla had possession of the present county of Tyrone, but they were gradually displaced by families of the race of Eoghan, the son of Niall of the Nine Hostages.

<sup>d</sup> *Ui Tuirtre*.—See p. 124, n. <sup>t</sup>, *suprà*.

Fir Leamhna ir h-Uí Chreathchann<sup>4</sup> char  
Síl Duibhshíri tpiath amháin.

Ocht n-eich donna oleasár<sup>5</sup> bó,  
ocht m-bruit chorpra bur caem ló,  
ocht rcéith, ocht (g)-claidim, ocht (g)-cuirn,  
ocht moḡaib diana, deaḡ-ḡuinn.

Oligiú ní Zeithrinb na laech  
tí h-eich áilli—ní h-ingaet,  
tí rcéith, tí claidim caet,  
tí leanna, tí lúineacha.

Oligiú ní Dapraibí ino áḡ  
ceithrí moḡaib móir arpaí,  
ceithrí claidim, cruaid<sup>6</sup> (g)-cléith,  
ceithrí h-eich, ceithrí h-ór rcéith<sup>7</sup>.

Oligiú ní Feapn-muigi in fino  
ré cuirn lán<sup>8</sup> ḡlana im<sup>9</sup> lino,  
ré rcéith, ré claidim cáma<sup>10</sup>,  
ré fino mna, ré pichéilla<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *Fir Leamhna*.—The territory of this tribe of Leamhain, says Colgan, "Est regio campestris Tironiae Diocesis Clocharensis vulgò *Mag-lemna* aliis *Clossach* dicta."—*Trias Thaum.*, p. 184, n. 11. It is shown on the old map of Ulster, already often referred to, as "the countrie of Cormac Mac Barone" [O'Neill]. The River Black-water is represented as running through it, and the fort of Augher and the village of Ballygawley as in it; the town of Clogher on its western, and the church of Errigal Keroge on its northern boundary. O'Caemhain was the chief of this territory according to O'Dubhagain.

<sup>1</sup> *Race of Creamhthann*, i.e. the descendants of Creamhthann, son of Fiach, son of

Deaghaidh Duirn, son of Rochadh, son of Colla Da Chrioch. This Creamhthann was chief of the Oirghialla, and his descendants were very celebrated. See O'Fla. *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 76. Colgan informs us that the territory of the race of Creamhthann was known in his own time, and considered as included in the barony of "Slane," [in Meath].

"Est regiuncula Australis Oirgielliae, nunc ad Baroniam Slanensem spectans, vulgò *Crimthainne* dicta."—*Trias Thaum.* p. 184, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Race of Duibhthire*.—O'Dubhagain states that O'Duibhthire was chief of the race of Daimhin. See *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 1086, and Mac Firsigh's

The Fir Leamhna\* and the descendants of comely Creamh-thann<sup>f</sup>,

[And] the race of Duibhthir<sup>g</sup> of warlike chiefs.

Eight bay steeds are due to him,

Eight purple cloaks of fine texture,

Eight shields, eight swords, eight drinking-horns,

Eight hard-working, good-handed bondmen.

Entitled is the king of Leithrinn<sup>h</sup> of the heroes

To three beautiful steeds,—it is no falsehood,

Three shields, three swords of battle,

Three mantles, three coats of mail.

Entitled is the king of Dartraidhe<sup>i</sup> of valor

To four bondmen of great labor,

Four swords, hard in battle,

Four steeds, four golden shields.

Entitled is the king of Fearn-mhagh<sup>k</sup> the fair

To six beautiful drinking-horns for ale,

Six shields, six curved swords,

Six fair women, six chess-boards.

genealogical work, p. 304. Their exact situation has not been yet determined.

<sup>h</sup> *Leithrinn*.—This territory is not mentioned in the Annals of the Four Masters, in O'Dubhagain's poem, or in any other tract upon Irish topography that the Editor has met. The tribe who inhabited it were descended from Lughaidh, son of Creamh-thann, son of Rochadh, who was the son of Colla Da Chrioch. See Dubhaltach Mac Firisigh's genealogical work, page 309.

<sup>i</sup> *Dartraidhe*, i. e. of Dartraidhe Coinn-innsi, as the prose has it, now the barony of "Darry" in the south-west of the county of Monaghan, adjoining Ferna-

nagh. According to O'Dubhagain, the sept of O'Baeigheallain (O'Boylans) were the chiefs of this territory.

<sup>k</sup> *Fearn-mhagh*, i. e. the plain of the alders, "Farney," a celebrated barony in the south of the county of Monaghan, for a very copious and interesting account of which the reader is referred to Mr. Shirley's work entitled "Some Account of the Territory or Dominion of Farney, p. 1, where the author shows that the alder is the prevailing native plant of this barony. The battle of Carn Achaidh Leith-dheirg, in which the Three Collas defeated the Clanna Rudhraidhe, was fought in this territory. See p. 136, n. <sup>k</sup>, *supra*.

Oligið ní Fear Manach mór  
 cúic<sup>32</sup> bhuir co correapaid b'ór<sup>33</sup>,  
 cóic rcéith, cóic claidmí cacha,  
 cóic longa, cóic lúipecha.

Oligið ní Mughdhorn iR Ror<sup>34</sup>  
 ré mozáid co mór dóchor<sup>35</sup>,  
 ré claidmí, ré rcéith, ré cuirín,  
 ré bhuir corra, ré bhuir gúirn.

Atá fúnd reanchar na ríó<sup>36</sup>  
 d'á<sup>36</sup> (o)-tuc gráó co bráth ðeneon;  
 áct in-éi ður tpeorach tēre  
 ar cāch n-eolach iR áno cēre. IN [CÉIST-8A.]

### III. 3. Oligheabh Rígh Ulaoh.

DO OTHRAIÐ acur do chuairtealaib Ulaó ano ro.

Oligið ní Ulaó chéabamur, in tan nach ní for Eirino h-é péin,  
 .i. leath láin ní h-Eirino, acur cor ob h-é ður túirci ðear 'n-a cho-  
 cap acur chaemtheachta in comairneab ðear i (b)-fail ní Eirino.  
 Acur in tan murceapab<sup>1</sup> caeca claidem acur caeca each acur  
 caeca bpat acur caeca cocholl acur caeca rging acur caeca lú-  
 peach acur tricha fálach acur deé míl-choin acur deich matail  
 acur deich (g)-cuirín acur deich longa acur fichi glac lora acur  
 fichi ué fáilino. Do ní Ulaó rin uilí cāch threap bliabān [ó ní  
 h-Ereann].

Fóblaib oin ní Ulaó tuairteol d'á nígaib .i.

Fichi corn acur fichi claidem acur fichi míl-éon acur fichi  
 mozáid acur fiéi each acur fichi bpat acur fichi matail acur fichi  
 cumal ó ní Ulaó do ní Dál n-Áraibí.

Trí h-eich, trí mozáid, trí mná, trí longa do ní Dál Riata.

<sup>1</sup> *Feara Manach*.—A territory co-exten-  
 sive with the present county of "Fenna-  
 nagh," of which the chiefs of the tribe of  
 O'h-Egnigh (O'Hegnys) were the ancient  
 lords, but the chiefs of Mac Uidhir (Ma-

guires) since the year 1202; *infra*, p. 173.

<sup>34</sup> *The King of Mughdhorn and Ros*.—  
 See above p. 150, notes. The territory of  
 Feara Ros is not well defined, but we learn  
 from the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, that

Entitled is the great king of the Fears Manach<sup>1</sup>

To five cloaks with golden borders,

Five shields, five swords of battle,

Five ships, five coats of mail.

Entitled is the king of Mughdhorn and Ros<sup>m</sup>

To six bondmen of great energy,

Six swords, six shields, six drinking-horns,

Six purple cloaks, six blue cloaks.

There is the history of the hosts

On whom Benean bestowed his love for ever;

But, save to the person of guiding knowledge,

To every learned man it is a high difficulty.

THIS DIFFICULTY.

### III. 3.—THE PRIVILEGES OF THE KING OF ULADH.

OF THE WAGES and of the stipends of Uladh here.

In the first place the king of Uladh, when he himself is not king of Eire, is entitled to be by the side of the king of Eire, and he is to hold the first place in his confidence and society while he is along with the king of Eire. And when he is departing he obtains fifty swords and fifty steeds and fifty cloaks and fifty cowns and fifty scings and fifty coats of mail and thirty rings and ten greyhounds and ten matals and ten drinking-horns and ten ships and twenty handfuls of leeks and twenty sea-gulls' eggs. All these are given to the king of Uladh every third year from the king of Eire.

The king of Uladh thus distributes stipends among his kings, viz.:

Twenty drinking-horns and twenty swords and twenty greyhounds and twenty bondmen and twenty steeds and twenty cloaks and twenty matals and twenty cumhals from the king of Uladh to the king of Dal Araidhe.

Three steeds, three bondmen, three women, three ships to the king of Dal Riada.

the church of Eanach Conglais (Killany, in the barony of Farney), was in it. See *Trias Thaum.*, p. 184, n. 21. It is also highly probable, if not absolutely certain,

that the parish of Machaire Rois (Magh-cross), and that the town of Carraig Machaire Rois (Carrickmacross) were comprised in it.

Ceithrī longa, ceithrī moǵaib, ceithrī h-eich do rig in Airthir.

Sé moǵaig, ré h-eich, ré cuirp, ré<sup>2</sup> claidiú do rig h-Ua n-Éarca, Chéim<sup>2</sup>.

Ocht (g)-cuirp, [ocht (g)-cuimhla, ocht n-áirio eóca], ocht n-eich, ocht moǵaib do pí Dál m-Duinib<sup>2</sup>.

Ocht moǵaib, ocht n-eich co n-aðallaib arǵaib do pí h-Ua m-ðlaithmeic.

Dá fálaig acup deich longa acup deich n-eich acup deic írém acup deic írúig do rig Duibéirín<sup>2</sup>.

Ocht longa acup ocht moǵaib acup ocht n-eich acup ocht (g)-cuirp acup ocht m-bruit do rig na h-Árda.

Ocht moǵaib acup ocht mná acup ocht n-eich acup ocht longa do rig Leithi Cathail.

Trí h-eich acup trí matail acup trí cuirp acup trí coin do pí Dóirí.

Deich (g)-cuirp acup deich (g)-claidiú acup deich longa acup deich m-bruit do rig Coða.

Sé cuirp acup deich longa acup deich [n-é] acup deich n-inair do rig Muirtheimne. Coniú do éairciú na rochar rin fo gñ<sup>2</sup> De-néan ann fo [rí<sup>2</sup>]:

### ATÁ SUNÐ SOCHOR Ulaib

cen dochar, cen bpoth bunab,  
mar ícthair tuarraigal thair  
ó pí Dóirí beandachtain.

Tráth nach pí o'Éirín uilí  
pí Ulaib na h-uilaib<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>2</sup> *Uladh*.—This was originally the name of the whole province of Ulster; but after the destruction of the palace of Eamhain Macha by the Three Collas in 332, it became the name of the eastern part of the province only, as already explained, p. 36, n. e. The exact extent of this circumscribed kingdom of the ancient Uilta will appear from this

poem; but it must be observed that the Clann Colla intruded further upon their kingdom in a few centuries after. Colgan has the following note on this subject on the 31st chapter of Joceline's *Life of St. Patrick*, *Trias Thaum.* p. 109: "Tota provincia quæ hodiè Ultonia appellatur, priscis temporibus sermone patrio nunc Ulta nunc

Four ships, four bondmen, four steeds to the king of Oirthear.

Six bondmen, six steeds, six drinking-horns, six swords to the king of Ui Earca Chein.

Eight drinking-horns, eight cumhals, eight noble steeds, eight bondmen to the king of Dal m-Buinne.

Eight bondmen, eight steeds with silver bits to the king of Ui Blathmaic.

Two rings and ten ships and ten steeds and ten bridles and ten scings to the king of Duibhthrian.

Eight ships and eight bondmen and eight steeds and eight drinking-horns and eight cloaks to the king of the Arda.

Eight bondmen and eight women and eight steeds and eight ships to the king of Leath Chathail.

Three steeds and three matals and three drinking-horns and three hounds to the king of Boirche.

Ten drinking-horns and ten swords and ten ships and ten cloaks to the king of Cobha.

Six drinking-horns and ten ships and ten steeds and ten tunics to the king of Muirtheimhne. And it was to preserve these stipends Benean composed this [poem] below :

#### HERE IS THE INCOME of Uladh<sup>a</sup>

Without diminution, without evil origin,

As stipends are paid in the east

By the king of Boirche<sup>o</sup> of the blessing.

When over all Eire reigns not [as monarch]

The king of Uladh of the conflict,

Ulaídh dicebatur, et Latine *Vltonia*, *Vlidia*, vel rectius *Vladia*; sed postquam primò Dalfiataci, postea stirps Colleana, ac deinde filij Neill potenti manu eandem provinciam inuaserunt, et in suam potestatem maiori ex parte redegerunt, priscis habitatoribus ad angustiores terminos repulsis ea eiusdem provinciae regio, quae hodiè terminis Comitatus Dunensis poenè con-

cluditur, coepit temporis successu *Vlidia* et incolae *Vlidij* appellari; quomodo a locelino hic et infra, cap. 194, et ab alio praecedentium vitarum scriptoribus appellatam reperimus."

<sup>a</sup>*King of Boirche.*—See p. 38, n. 8, *suprà*. The king of Uladh or Ulidia is meant; the name Boirche properly belonged to the chain of mountains in his territory.

olúgíó : (o)-Ceannraí<sup>9</sup> na (o)-treb  
lám níg Banba na m-buaileas<sup>10</sup>.

Caeca claiðean, caeca ríath,  
caeca bpat, caeca each liath,  
caeca cochall, caeca ríng,  
í r caeca lúipeach lán gínio<sup>11</sup>;

Trícha fáilach,—í r rí rín,  
deich míl-chóin í r deich matail,  
deich (g)-cuirn bpolmacha deara  
í r deich longa lán deara<sup>12</sup>;

Fíchi uí fáilino fearróa,  
fíchi glac lora learróa,  
fíchi rrian, rreacach, rotal,  
do chruan í r do charrmógal;

Í r h-é rín tuaríatal tar,  
olúgear níg Cuailgne céataig  
cach threap bliadan,—ní báio baeth,  
ó níg Fódla na (b)-rías rraech<sup>13</sup>.

Fíchi corinn, fíchi claiðean,  
fíchi míl-chón,—í r muiréar,  
fíchi mógaró, muirn n-uabair<sup>14</sup>,  
fíchi gabar gnath [glan B.] í luagaig.

Fíchi bpat breac,—ní bec ní<sup>15</sup>,  
fíchi matai maeth al-lí,  
fíchi corinn, fíchi cailí  
do rí echdach Aíraí.

<sup>9</sup> *King of Banba of the buailes*, i. e. king of Ireland of great dairy districts, called "booleys" in Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland*, p. 82, Dublin edit. of 1809. See p. 46, note 7, *supra*. This expression would show that the monarch was considered in some measure "a shepherd king." In B.,

however, the reading is *na m-buain-íleas*, i. e. of the constant banquets.

<sup>10</sup> *Scings*.—See p. 70, note 1, *supra*.

<sup>11</sup> *Cruan*.—Some precious stone of a red and yellow color.

<sup>12</sup> *Cuailgne*.—This is another name for the king of Uladh, for that mountainous



He is entitled in Teamhair of the tribes  
To be by the side of the king of Banbha of the buailes\*.

Fifty swords, fifty shields,  
Fifty cloaks, fifty grey steeds,  
Fifty cowls, fifty scings<sup>a</sup>,  
And fifty coats of mail, perfectly suitable;

Thirty rings,—that is true,  
Ten hounds and ten matals,  
Ten drinking-horns with handsome handles  
And ten ships, very beautiful;

Twenty eggs of goodly sea-gulls,  
Twenty handfals of broad leeks,  
Twenty bridles, flowing, gorgeous,  
[Adorned] with cruan<sup>a</sup> and carbuncle;

That is the stipend in the east  
That is due to the king of Cuailghne<sup>a</sup> of hundreds  
Every third year,—no foolish promise,  
From the king of Fodhla of heathy lands.

Twenty drinking-horns, twenty swords,  
Twenty greyhounds,—it is a good number,  
Twenty bondmen, a proud troop,  
Twenty horses fit for expeditions.

Twenty speckled cloaks,—no small matter,  
Twenty matals soft in texture,  
Twenty drinking-horns, twenty quern-women  
To the valorous king of Araidhe<sup>a</sup>.

region, at the period of this poem, was included in his kingdom, though soon after wrested from him by the vigorous Clann Colla. See p. 21, note <sup>a</sup>, *supra*.

<sup>a</sup> *Araidhe*, i. e. of Dal Araidhe, as in the prose. This was the largest territory in the circumscribed kingdom of the Ullta

or Clanna Rudhraidhe, and is described in the Book of Leacan, fol. 140, b, as extending from Iubhar (Newry), to Sliaabh Mis (Slennish); in Antrim; and from Carraig Inbhir Uisce to Linn Duachaill (Magheralin), in the west of Down. The Dal Araidhe derive their name and origin

Tuairteal ní Dál Riata  
 arís h-eich duba, dáig-riata,  
 arís mná, arís moḡaio mópa<sup>16</sup>  
 is arís longa lán chróda<sup>17</sup>.

Tuairteal ní an Airtehir  
 ceithrí moḡaio nach muirfirí,  
 ceithrí h-eich donda, deapa,  
 ceithrí longa lán deapa<sup>18</sup>.

Olígó ní h-Ua n-Deapca Chéim<sup>19</sup>  
 cóic<sup>20</sup> gaḡra glana pé gnén,

from Fiacha Araidhe, king of all Ulster, A. D. 240. See Ussher's *Primordia*, p. 1047; O'Fla. *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 18.

"*Dal Riada*, i. e. the tribe of Cairbre Riada, the son of Conaire II. monarch of Ireland, A.D. 212. Another branch of this tribe settled amongst the Picts, a fact mentioned by Bede.—Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. i. c. 1. Bede explains Dal in this compound as signifying *part* in the Scotie language, and the same explanation is given in Cormac's Glossary; but O'Flaherty says that it signifies with greater propriety an offspring (*Ogygia*, part iii. c. 63); and Charles O'Connor of Belanagare, in his edition of *Ogygia Vindicated*, p. 175, observes that "*Dal* properly signifies posterity or descent by blood," but that "in an enlarged and figurative sense it signifies a district, i. e. the division or part allotted to such posterity;" and he adds: "Of this double sense we have numberless instances; thus Bede's interpretation is doubtless, in the second sense, admissible."

Colgan, in his *Annotations on the Life of St. Olcan*, at 20th February, has the following curious note on Dalredia, to which all modern writers, except Ussher, are in-

debted for what they have told us concerning this territory:

"Hæc regio nomen sortita est a perantiquâ et nobilissimâ familiâ Dalrieda dictâ, quæ nomen hoc suum quod a progenitore accepit, regioni quam possedit impertit. Ea enim familia oriunda est ex quodam principe Hiberno, cui nomen Carbreus et cognomen Rifhoda secundum vocis etymon; secundum verò modum pronuntiandi Rioda, et nunc secundum vsum vulgarem et modum etiam scribendi Rioda, vel Rieda. Vnde huius progenies, Dal riêda, id est, stirps, seu propago Riedæ Hibernicè appellatur: Latine verò, ut Venerabili Bedæ placet, Dal Reudini; sed rectius Dalriedini appellantur. Fuit autem hæc progenies celebris et potens multis sæculis, non solùm in prædictâ regione Hiberniæ, verùm etiam in Albaniâ, quam hodiè communiter Scotiam vocamus. Hiberni enim prædicti regionis principe Rieda, seu vt Beda loquitur, Reuda duce, inuaserunt prius insulas Hæbridum et aliquas viciniores continentis Albaniæ regiones, quas aliquamdiu possiderunt, vt lib. i. hyst. cap. 1. docet Beda his verbis: 'Procedente autem tempore Britannia post Britones et Pictos tertiam Sco-

The stipend of the king of Dal Riada<sup>u</sup> [is]

Three steeds, black, well-trained,  
Three women, three huge bondmen  
And three ships, right gallant.

The stipend of the king of Oirthear<sup>x</sup> [is]

Four bondmen who will not kill,  
Four handsome, bay steeds,  
Four ships, very beautiful.

Entitled is the king of Ui Dearca Chein<sup>7</sup>

To five horses bright as the sun,

torum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit; qui duce Reuda de Hiberniâ egressi, vel ferro, vel amicitia sibi inter eos sedes quas hactenus habent vindicârunt: a quo videlicet duce vsque hodiè Dalreudini vocantur; nam lingua eorum Dal partem significat. Hæc Bêda. Posterî eiusdem Reudæ tandem a Britannis expulsi reversi sunt in patriam suam Dalreudiam, donec tandem duce Fergusio, de quo infra, antiquas sedes in Albaniâ circa annum Domini 445 repetierunt: vbi temporis successu suos fines ita extenderunt vt devictis Pictis totâ fuerint Scotiâ potiti."—*Trias Thaum.* p. 377, note 3.

According to a letter written by Randal, Earl of Antrim, to Archbishop Ussher, the Irish Dalriada extended thirty miles from the River Buais (Bush) to the cross of Gleann Finneachta, now the village of Glynn, in the east of the county of Antrim. See Ussher's *Primordia*, p. 1029; and Dublin Penny Journal, vol. i. p. 362.

How long the posterity of Cairbre Riada remained powerful in this territory, or what family names they assumed after the establishment of surnames in the tenth century, we have no documents to prove, but it seems

highly probable that they were driven out at an early period by the Clann Colla, for we find the Ui Tuirtre and Fir Li, of whom O'Fhloinn (O'Lyn), a descendant of Colla Uais, was king, were in possession of all the territory of Dal Riada in 1177. The Fir Li, as has been already stated, were on the west side of the River Bann in the time of St. Patrick, but they were certainly on the east side of it when Sir John de Courcy invaded Ulster. However, we have no document to prove the exact period at which they established themselves in the country of the Dal Riada.

The name Dal Riada (or Reuda) is still preserved in the corrupted form of "Ruta," *Anglicè* "*Roote*," and "*Route*," a well-known district in the north of the county Antrim. See Ussher's *Primordia*, p. 611.

<sup>x</sup> *Oirthear*, i. e. eastern. This is to be distinguished from Cricth na n-Oirthear in Oirghialla (see p. 148, n. 1), but its exact situation has not yet been determined.

<sup>7</sup> *Ui Dearca Chein*.—Colgan says that this was the name of a valley in the barony of Antrim and diocese of Connor. See *Trias Thaum.* p. 183, note 221-228. The Ui Earca Chein are mentioned twice in the

ré claidiú chocaib, ré cuirn  
 i ré moḡaib ré móir níuinn<sup>21</sup>.

Olúgú ní Dal m-ḡuinn m-bán<sup>22</sup>  
 ocht (ḡ)-cuirn acur ocht (ḡ)-copa[í]n,  
 ocht moḡaib, ocht mná déara<sup>23</sup>  
 ip ocht n-ḡaḡra ḡlan tpeara.

Tuairteal nḡ h-Ua m-ḡlaithmeic  
 ocht moḡaib chaema, chaithmí<sup>24</sup>,  
 ocht n-eich, a rhaḡaib ní plaē<sup>25</sup>,  
 co rrianaib do fcan arca<sup>26</sup>.

Annals of the Four Masters, first at the year 1199, and next at the year 1391, where it is mentioned that Mac Giolla Muire (Gillimurry), who was otherwise called Cu Uladh O'Morna, was chief of the Ui Earca Chain and Leath Chathail, from which it would appear that the two territories were conterraneous, which could not be the case if the former were in the barony of Antrim. Rymer mentions a "Mac Gil-mori dux de Anderkin," 8 Edw. I. 1275. At a later period the "Gilmers" were settled in Holywood. See Stuart's Armagh. The name occurs in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, part ii. c. 133, where it is stated that the Irish apostle erected there a church which was called Rath Easpuig Innic, from a Bishop Vinnocus, whom he placed over it. *Trias Thaum*, p. 147. According to the pedigree of this tribe, given by Dubhaltach Mac Firlisigh, in his genealogical work (Lord Roden's copy), p. 205, the Ui Earca Chain are a Connacht tribe descended from Cruithne, son of Eoghan Sriabh, who was son of Duach Galach, king of Connacht, in the fifth century; but no account has been discovered of how or when they settled in Dal Araidhe. The descent of

Cionaeth (Kenny) O'Morna, of this race, chief of Leath Chathail (Lecale) is thus given by Mac Firlisigh (*ubi supra*):

"Cinaeth, son of Ruarcán, son of Mael-sneachta, a quo O'Morna, in Leth Chathail, is called, son of Fearchar, son of Oisen, son of Onchu, son of Broc, son of Aine, son of Sinell, son of Amergin, son of Cruithne, son of Eoghan Sriabh, son of Duach Galach."

It would appear from the same work, p. 508, that there was a more ancient line of Chiefs in Leath Chathail than the O'Mornas, and that this older line was of the ancient Uilta, or Clanna Rudhraidhe, and descended from Cathal, from whom Leath Chathail was named, the son of Muiredhach, son of Aenghus, son of Maelcobha, son of Fiachna, son of Deaman, king of Ulidia, or circumscribed Uladh, slain in the battle of Ardcoran in Dal Riada, A. D. 627. From the various references to this family of Mac Giolla Muire, *alias* O'Morna, occurring in the Irish Annals, and other documents, it is quite evident that they originally possessed the barony of "Lecale," a part of "Kinelarty," and the barony of "Upper Castlereagh," in the county of Down; but after the English invasion their

Six war-swords, six drinking-horns  
And six bondmen of great merriment.

Entitled is the king of fair Dal Buinne\*  
To eight drinking-horns and eight cups,  
Eight bondmen, eight handsome women  
And eight horses of fine action.

The stipend of the king of Ui Blathmaic\* [is]  
Eight handsome, expensive bondmen, [trained,]  
Eight steeds, not driven from the mountains, [i. e. not un-  
With bridles of old silver.

territory was very much circumscribed by the encroachments of the families of the Whites and Savadges, and afterwards of the O'Neills of Clann Aedha Buidhe (Clannaboy), and Mac Artains. It would appear, however, from the Anglo-Irish Annals, that the "Mac Gilmories," or "Gilmors," were very stout opposers of the English in their original territory in the beginning of the fifteenth century. The two notices of this family following, which occur in Ware's Annals of Ireland, are sufficient to prove this fact:

"Anno 1407. A certain false fellow, an Irish man named *Mac Adam Mac Gilmori*, that had caused forty churches to be destroyed, who was never baptized, and therefore he was called *Corbi* [corpbet, wicked], took *Patrick Savadge* prisoner, and received for his ransom two thousand marks, and afterwards slew him together with his brother Richard."

It is difficult to say where the good and honest Ware got this passage, but it is quite evident that Corbi does not mean unbaptized, and that Savadge had not so much money as 2000 marks in the world.

"Anno 1408. This year *Hugh Mac Gil-*

*more* was slain in Carrickfergus, within the church of the Eryars Minors, which church he had before destroyed, and broke down the glass windows to have the iron bars through which his enemies, the Savages, had entered upon him."—Edition of 1705.

The O'Neill pedigree quoted by Dr. Stuart, in his History of Armagh, p. 680, states that the "Clannaboy" O'Neills gave to the Gilmors the lands of Holywood. The parish of Dundonald would also appear to have belonged to this tribe.

\* *Dal Buinne*, i. e. the race of Buinne, son of Fearghus Mac Roigh, king of Uladh (Ulster), just before the first century of the Christian era. See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part. iii. c. 46. This tribe possessed the present barony of "Upper Mas-sareene," with the parishes of "Kilwarlin and Drumbo," on the other side of the River Lagan. The exact number of churches and chapels in the territory is given in Pope Nicholas's Taxation. See Taxation of the Diocese of Down and Connor and Dromore, about the year 1291. Edited by the Rev. Wm. Reeves, M.B., 1847. Hodges and Smith.

\* *The Ui Blathmaic*, i. e. the descendants

Tuairpeol riú Duibhthrian déin  
 dá fálaig, deich n-eich, deich ríeith<sup>7</sup>,  
 deich ríngi, nach ríethenn ríuag<sup>8</sup>,  
 ir deich mozáib [longa B.] for Loch Cuan.

Tuairpeal riú na h-Arda  
 ocht n-gaill, ocht n-gabha garga,  
 ocht (g)-cuirn, ocht m-bruit co m-buinioib<sup>9</sup>  
 ir ocht longa lán chuillig<sup>10</sup>.

Dlígió rí Leithi Cathail  
 ocht mozáib cacha móir aghaib<sup>11</sup>,  
 ocht n-eich o'eachaib bonda<sup>12</sup> ac sún,  
 ocht (g)-cuirn chpoma'fpi caem-élúó.

Dlígió rí Dóirchi in bilit<sup>13</sup>  
 ré<sup>14</sup> gabha móra ar mui,  
 epí matail, epí cuirn élaena<sup>15</sup>,  
 epí coin áill, píp chaema<sup>16</sup>.

Tuairpeol riú Cobha éuib<sup>17</sup>  
 deich (g)-cuirn, deich (g)-claidim ochair<sup>18</sup>,

of Blathmac. See Mac Firisigh's genealogical work, p. 510. In 1888 Blathewyc, Blawick, Blavico, were names for the then *Comitatus Novæ Villæ*, extending all round "Newtown-Ards," including "Bangor." *Inq. post mort. Com. Ult.*, 1888. See also *Calend. Canc. Hib.*, vol. i. p. 48, b. This *Comitatus Novæ Villæ de Blathwyc* evidently comprised the northern portion of the barony of "Ards," and the greater part of the barony of "Lower Castlereagh," in the county of Down.

<sup>b</sup> *Duibhthrian*, i.e. the black third or ternal division, *Anglice* "Dufferin," a barony extending along the western side of Loch Cuan (by its Norse name Strangford, *Anglice* "Strangford"), in the county

of Down. The tribe of Mac Artain were chiefs of this and the adjoining barony of Cineal Fhaghartaigh, "Kinelarty." They descend from Caelbhadh, the brother of Eochaidh Cobha, the ancestor of the family of the Mac Aenghusa (Magennis).

<sup>c</sup> *Scings*.—See page 70, note 1, *supra*.

<sup>d</sup> *Loch Cuan*.—This is still the Irish name of "Strangford." See the last note but one. According to the bardic accounts, this inlet of the sea forced its way through the land in the time of Partholan, who came to Ireland 312 years after the flood according to O'Flaherty's Chronology. See *Ogygia*, part iii. cc. 2 and 8.

<sup>e</sup> *Arda*, now called "the Ards," a barony in the east of the county of Down, lying

The stipend of the king of the fine Duibhthrian<sup>b</sup> [is]  
 Two rings, ten steeds, ten shields,  
 Ten scings<sup>c</sup>, which fatigue not on an expedition,  
 And ten ships on Loch Cuan<sup>d</sup>.

The stipend of the king of the Arda<sup>e</sup> [is]  
 Eight foreigners, eight fierce horses,  
 Eight drinking-horns, eight cloaks with ring-clasps  
 And eight exquisitely beauteous ships.

Entitled is the king of Leath Chathail<sup>f</sup>  
 To eight bondmen [tillers] of each great field,  
 Eight steeds, bay steeds at [his] fort,  
 Eight curved drinking-horns for interchanging.

Entitled is the king of Boirche<sup>g</sup>, the hero,  
 To six great, spirited horses,  
 Three matals, three inclining drinking-horns,  
 Three fine hounds, truly beautiful.

The stipend of the king of Cobha<sup>h</sup> of victory [is]  
 Ten drinking-horns, ten wounding swords,

principally between Loch Cuan and the sea. The name of this territory is translated *Altitude Ulteriorum*, in the Life of St. Comhghall, founder of Beannchor (Bangor), which is situate in this territory.

<sup>f</sup> *Leath Chathail*, i. e. Cathal's half, or portion, *Anglicè* "Lecale," a well-known barony in the county of Down, anciently called Maigh Inis, i. e. the insular plain. The name Leath Chathail was derived from Cathal the son of Muiredhach, son of Aenghus, son of Maelcobha, son of Fiachna, who was the son of Deaman, king of Ulidia, slain in the year 627. See p. 163, note 2, *suprà*.

<sup>g</sup> *Boirche*.—See p. 38, note 5, as to the mountains usually called Beanna Boirche,

i. e. the peaks of Boirche, called (according to the *Dinnseanchus*) after Boirche, the shepherd of Ros, king of Ulster in the third century, who herded the king's cattle on these mountains. See O'Fla. *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 69. In the *Dinnseanchus* it is stated that the shepherd Boirche could view from these mountains all the lands southwards as far as Dun Dealgan (Dundalk), and northwards as far as Dun Sobhairce. This is another proof that the present barony of "Mourne" was not the Criche Mughdhorna of the Oirghialla.

<sup>h</sup> *Cobha*.—This territory is more usually called Magh Cobha, i. e. the plain of Eochaidh Cobha, the ancestor of the tribe called Ui Eathach Cobha, who were seated

beich longa d'á<sup>o</sup> leanann ríó<sup>g</sup>,  
beich m-bruit co n-a m-bórdan d'ó<sup>g</sup>.

Ólógó rí Muirtheimne in mío  
ré cuirn leabha lán do<sup>o</sup> lino,

in the present baronies of "Upper and Lower Iveagh" in the county of Down. See O'Fla. *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 78. The Four Masters, and from them Colgan and others, have erred in placing this plain in Tyrone; and Dr. Lanigan has been set astray by them in his Ecclesiastical History of Ireland (vol. iv. p. 11, note 26), where he conjectures that Magh Cobha was probably the name of the plain around the present village of "Coagh" in the county of Tyrone. But the situation of the plain of Magh Cobha is fixed by the older writers, who place it in Ui (Uibh) Eathach (Iveagh), and place in it the monastery of Druim Mor (Dromore) and the church of Domhnach Mor Muighe Cobha, which is unquestionably the present "Donaghmore" (in "Upper Iveagh"), nearly midway between Newry and Lough Brickland. See the *Feilire Aenghus* at 16th of November, and Haliday's edition of the first part of Keating's History of Ireland, p. 818, where the plain of Magh Cobha, which is said to have been cleared of wood in the reign of Irial Faidh, is placed in "Aoibh Eachach," which Haliday Anglicizes "Iveagh." See also the Annals of Tighearnach at the years 735 and 739, and *Acta Sanctorum*, apud Bolland. 7 Junii. The family of Mac Aenghusa (Magennises) were chiefs of this territory for many centuries before the confiscation of Ulster; but (according to O'Dubhagain) O'Gairbhith, and O h-Ainbhith (Anglicè O'Garvey, and O'Hanvey

or O'Hannafey), preceded them. "Magen-nis" descends from Saran, chief of Dal Araidhe in St. Patrick's time, and this Saran was the eleventh in the descent from Fiacha Araidhe, and the fourth from Eochaidh Cobha, the ancestor of all the Ui Eathach Cobha.

<sup>1</sup> *Muirtheimhne*.—See page 21, note <sup>1</sup>. This territory is more usually called Magh Muirtheimhne and Conaille Muirtheimhne, from the descendants of Conall Cearnach (of the Clanna Rudhraidhe race), the most distinguished of the heroes of the Red Branch in Ulster, who flourished here for many centuries. Colgan describes its situation as follows, in his notes on the Scholiast of Fiach's Hymn on the Life of St. Patrick :

"In Conallia Murthemnensi. Est campestris Regio Australis Vltionis a monte Bregh prope Pontanam ciuitatem [Drogheda] vsque in sinum maris Dun-Delganis, seu vt vulgus loquitur, Dun-dalchis vicinum; iuxta, quod est campus ille in patriis historiis celebrati nominis vulgò *Mag-murthemne* dictus; a quo et illa Regio Murthemnensis vocatur quæ hodiè Comitatus Luthæ vulgò vocatur."—*Trias Thaum.* p. 8, note 16. It appears from the lives of St. Brigid (Bridget) and St. Monenna, and from the *Feilire Aenghus* and other calendars, that the churches of Fochard, Iniscasin, Cill Uinche, and Druim Ineaschuinn, were in this territory. Ussher informs us that the district of *Campus Murthemene* (in quo Conaleorum gens maximè



Ten ships which a host mans,  
Ten cloaks with their borders of gold.

Entitled is the king of Muirtheimhne<sup>1</sup>, the hero,  
To six tall drinking-horns full of ale,

viget) was called Maghery-Conall in his time. See his *Primordia*, pp. 705, 706, and O'Fla. *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 47.

This territory had been wrested from the descendants of Conall Cearnach several centuries before the English invasion, by the Oirghialla, so that the present county of Louth, instead of being regarded as a part of Uladh or Ulidia, as it certainly was when this poem was written, has been considered as the Machaire or plain of the Oirghialla, and the part oftenest called "Oriël" or "Uriël," by English writers.

From the territories here enumerated as in Uladh (i. e. in Ulidia, or the circumscribed territory of the ancient Ullta), it is quite evident that it comprised, when this poem was written, the present counties of Louth, Down, and Antrim, except a portion of the last, which was in the possession of the Ui Tuirtre, who were a family of the Oirghialla, as already mentioned; and it looks very strange that it should not have been tributary to the king of Uladh, being on the east side of Loch n-Eathach (Lough Neagh), in the heart of his country, and separating his subjects of Dal Araidhe from those of Dal Riada, to whom he gave stipends, and from whom he received tribute.

The dominant family in this territory when it was invaded by Sir John De Courcy in 1177, was of the Dal Fiatach race. He was Cu Uladh, i. e. Canis Ultoniae, Mac Duinnshleibhe (Dunlevy) O h-Eoch-

adha, called by Giraldus Cambrensis, Dunlevus, to whose warlike character he bears the following testimony in his *Hibernia Expugnata*, lib. ii. c. xvi.:

"Videns autem Dunlevus se verbis minime profecturum corrogatis vndique viribus cum 10 bellatorum millibus infra 8 dies hostes in vrbe viriliter inuadit. In hac enim insula sicut et in omni natione, gens borealis magis bellica semper et truculenta reperitur."

But the greater number of his sub-chiefs were of the Clanna Rudhraidhe. Thus we see that the ancient limits of the Clanna Rudhraidhe and Dal Fiatach of Ulster were greatly restricted at the period of the English invasion by the upspringing vigor and increasing population of the race of the Collas, and the more powerful race of Niall of the Nine Hostages. Dubhaltach Mac Firsigh, in his pedigrees of the Irish families, says, that the Dal Fiatachs, who were the old kings of Ulster, and blended of old with the Clanna Rudhraidhe, were hemmed into a narrow corner of the province by the race of Conn of the Hundred Battles, i. e. the Oirghialla and Ui Neill of the north, and that even this narrow corner was not left to them [he alludes to the obtrusion of the O'Neills of Clanna Aedha Buidhe (Clanaboy), who subdued almost the entire of Ulidia], so that they had nearly been extinguished, except a few who had left the original territory. And, he says, grieving, "this is the case with all

deich longa do laech Elga,  
deich n-eich, deich n-inair dearg.

Seanchar riġ Cuailġne ir Ḍóirche<sup>41</sup>  
cuimniġ cach lá ir cach n-oidé  
Ḍeinéin po leapaig pé lá<sup>42</sup>  
in rochap rin map atá. . **ATÁ SUND SOCAR.**

**ΔΙΑΤΑ** ocur cīra thuath n-Ulaó and po [rīr] .i. ar epīch<sup>43</sup>  
móir Muigi Līne chéadamur, a chéu diathao.

Trí céat mapt acur trí chéu bpat al-Līne<sup>44</sup> ino rin.

86<sup>45</sup> chaeca dam a Dál Riata acur pé<sup>46</sup> chaeca torc acur trí  
chaeca bó acur trí chaeca bpat a Seinne.

Dá céat torc acur dá céat bó a Lathairne<sup>47</sup>.

Céo bó acur céat bpat acur céat molt a Crottraid<sup>48</sup>.

Céo bó acur céat bpat acur céat molt acur céat torc ar in  
Ḍréataig<sup>49</sup>.

Céo mapt acur céat molt acur céat torc ó F(h)orpuathaid<sup>50</sup>  
ino rin.

Trí chaeca mapt acur trí chaeca torc ó na Manchar<sup>51</sup>.

Trí céat dam acur trí céat bó ar in Duibheiriu.

Trí chéu bó acur trí céat torc acur trí céat bpat a Leith  
Cathail.

Ité rin a diaa ó faerpuathaid ceannmóráit<sup>52</sup> a daer-thuatha.  
Ir lairide<sup>53</sup>, imorro, turgnom<sup>54</sup> loma acur leanda acur uamai can  
tacha [agur aen agur eppata] uaidib<sup>55</sup>. Conao dóib rin po cha-  
cham in ruí [buaða] .i. Ḍénén and po.

**ΔΙΓΙΩ** riġ Eamna acur Ulaó<sup>56</sup>,  
ápó in pcel,

the Gaoidhil of Ireland in this year 1666." But he adds, "God is wide in a strait." But it must be remarked that these tribes had sent forth numerous colonies or swarms, who settled in various parts of Ireland, as the seven septs of Laeighis (Leix), in Leinster; the Soghains and the Conmaicne

of Connacht and Meath; the Ciarraidhe in Munster and Connacht; the Corcomruaidh, &c. See pp. 48, 65, 100, *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> *Hero of Elga*.—This is a bardic name for the king of Uladh, because, he represented Cuchulainn, who was the champion of Ireland in his day.

Ten ships from the hero of Ealga<sup>1</sup> (Ireland),  
Ten steeds, ten red tunics.

The history of the king of Cuailgne and Boirche  
Remember each day and each night;  
Benéan inculcated in his day  
That revenue as it is. . . . HERE IS THE STIPEND.

THE REFLECTIONS and tributes of the territories of Uladh down here, viz., first on the great region of Magh Line, his first refection.

Three hundred beeves and three hundred cloaks from Line.

Six times fifty oxen from Dal Riada and six times fifty hogs and three times fifty cows and three times fifty cloaks from Semhne.

Two hundred hogs and two hundred cows from Latharna.

A hundred cows and a hundred cloaks and a hundred wethers from the Crotsaidhe.

A hundred cows and a hundred cloaks and a hundred wethers and a hundred hogs from Breadach.

A hundred beeves and a hundred wethers and a hundred hogs from the Forthuatha.

Thrice fifty beeves and thrice fifty hogs from the Mancha.

Three hundred oxen and three hundred cows from Duibhthrian.

Three hundred cows and three hundred hogs and three hundred cloaks from Leath Chathail.

Such are his provision-tributes from the noble tribes, exclusive of the unfree tribes. He has also the collecting of milk and ale and uamha (sewing thread) without any opposition from them. Concerning which things the gifted sage Benéan composed this [poem].

ENTITLED is the king of Eamhain and Uladh<sup>m</sup>,  
Noble the story,

<sup>1</sup> *King of Cuailgne and Boirche.*—This is another bardic appellation for the king of Uladh, from the two great mountain ranges already described. See p. 21, n. 2, and p. 38, n. 2, *suprà*.

<sup>m</sup> *King of Eamhain and Uladh.*—Here the king of Uladh is, by a poetical liberty, called "of Eamhain," although his ancestors had not possession of that palace since A. D. 332. See further, p. 36, n. 2, *suprà*.

## Leabhar

ar muig<sup>u</sup> Macha,  
 for a chaetha nochó chéi,

Sé chaecaid maré a Muig Line,  
 ní luaó mair:  
 ré chaeca bó,—  
 breath cean míne<sup>o</sup> beapair lió.

Trí chaeca dam a Dál Riata  
 nor blió díó,  
 acur trí chaeca muc m-biata  
 can breith ríó.

• Trí chaeca ráp bpat a Semne  
 runo do chách<sup>u</sup>,  
 ir trí chaeca ráp bó relde  
 pé<sup>o</sup> dá thriáth.

Dlíó a Lathairnió loma,—  
 ní luaó n-óó,—  
 dá chéó torc co paelaíó epoma<sup>o</sup>,  
 dá céao bó.

Dleagár a Chorpaid<sup>o</sup> in choólaig,—  
 cumnió lat,—

<sup>u</sup> *Magh Line*.—This name (which is Anglicized “Moylinny”) is that of a level territory, lying principally in the barony of “Upper Antrim,” in the county of Antrim. According to an Inquisition taken 7 Jac. i., the territory was bounded on the south and south-east by the river Six-mile-water, on the north and north-west for two miles by the stream of Glancurry (now gleann a’ coipe, *Anglicé* Glenwherry), as far as the mountain of Carnally; its boundary then extended southwards to Connor, and thence in a southern direction to Edenduffcarrick (now called Shane’s

Castle, Lord O’Neill’s seat, near the town of Antrim), where the aforesaid river Six-mile-water discharges itself into Lough Neagh. See p. 168, note <sup>2</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>o</sup> *Dál Riada*.—See p. 160, note <sup>u</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>v</sup> *Semhne*.—This is otherwise called Magh Semhne, and was the name of a plain in Dal Araidhe, lying to the north of Magh Line above described. Colgan gives the following note on its situation, &c., in his notice of the church of Imleach Cluana, in his notes to the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick:

“*Mag Semne, id est campum Semne*

On Macha's plain,  
 From his battalions I will not hide it,  
 To six times fifty beeves from Magh Line<sup>n</sup>,  
 No hasty saying:  
 Six times fifty cows,—  
 Sentence without mitigation pass ye.  
 Thrice fifty oxen from Dal Riada<sup>o</sup>  
 Are due of them,  
 And thrice fifty fatted pigs  
 Without producing young.  
 Thrice fifty very good cloaks from Semhne<sup>p</sup>  
 Here for all,  
 And thrice fifty good cows of the herd  
 In two days.  
 Entitled he is from the bare Latharna<sup>q</sup>,—  
 No false report,—  
 To two hundred hogs with crooked tusks,  
 [And] two hundred cows.  
 There is due from Crotraidhe<sup>r</sup> of the fleet,—  
 Bear it in thy memory,—

in Dal-aradia e sylvis excisis per Neme-  
 thum Regem eiusque filios vendicatum anno  
 mundi 2859, ut tradunt Quatuor Magistri  
 in Annalibus. Ecclesiam autem eiusdem  
 agri, quæ hic *Imleach Chluana* appellatur,  
 puto esse quæ hodie *Kill-Chluana* appel-  
 latur; vel saltem quæ *Kill Choemhain*  
 dicitur: cum in eâ Sanctum Coemanum  
 quiescere hic feratur. *Kill-Choemain* au-  
 tem est in regione de Hi-Tuirtre: et utra-  
 que Diocesis Connerensis in Dal-aradia."—  
*Trias Thaum.* p. 183.

<sup>q</sup> *Latharna*, Angliè "Larne." This  
 was the name of a *tuath* or *regiuncula* in

the diocese of "Connor," in Colgan's time.  
 In 1605, as appears from an Inquisition  
 taken at Antrim in that year, "Larne" was  
 a barony "in le Rowt." It is now included  
 in the barony of "Upper Glenarm," which  
 consists of the parishes of "Carncastle, Kil-  
 lyglen, Kilwaughter, and Larne," which  
 last preserves the name. The present town  
 of "Larne" was anciently called *Inbhear*  
*Latharna*, and in the Mac Donnell patent it  
 is called *Inver-in-Laherne*. See Dubour-  
 dieu's Stat. Surv. of Antrim, p. 621, and Col-  
 gan's *Trias Thaum.* p. 183, nn. 216, 217.

<sup>r</sup> *Crotraidhe*.—Unknown, unless it be

céo mole, [céad bó], nár bó uogruig<sup>61</sup>,  
 ir céat brat.

Céo mole, céat bó ar in (m)-drebaid<sup>62</sup>,  
 boib in rcel,  
 acur céat torc i n-a<sup>63</sup> (o)-drebaid,  
 mar ab bér.

Céo mole a Forthuathaid árta,  
 ir céat m-brat [marc, B.]  
 acur céat torc dia<sup>64</sup> nor tarua  
 la céat m-brat.

Trí chaeca marc ó na Manchaib<sup>65</sup>,  
 nír bo<sup>66</sup> mall,  
 trí caeca<sup>67</sup> caim thorc co corpheair<sup>68</sup>  
 nocho cam.

Trí chéad dam ar in n-Duibériuim  
 oleagar óib,  
 ir trí céat bó co n-a n-úich bri<sup>69</sup>  
 cor in ri<sup>70</sup>.

[Trí céad torc ó tuathaid Caat,  
 nocho cruaid,  
 trí céad dá<sup>71</sup>-brat co n-uathaid  
 oluigib tuaid.]

Cathraidhe, now the barony of "Carey," in the north-east of the county of Antrim.

\* *Breadach*.—This is the real territorial name of the country of the Ui Dearca Chein. Previously to the seventeenth century, Breadach was the name of a parish in the barony of "Upper Castlereagh," now incorporated with "Cnoc," under the name of Cnoc Breadaigh, "Knockbreda." In the Taxation of Pope Nicholas (circ. 1291), it is called Bradach, and its burying ground, still bearing this name, remains within Belvoir Park, the seat of Sir Robert Bate-

son. See the Ordnance Map of the County of Down, sheet 9. We have seen above in the note on Ui Dearca Chein, p. 161, n. 7, that Mac Giolla Muire was chief of that tribe, and it appears from the Registry of John Prene, who was Archbishop of Armagh, from 1439 to 1448, that "Patricius Pallidus O'Gilmore" was chief parishioner of "Bredac" in 1442.

<sup>61</sup> *Forthuatha*, i. e. the exterr tribes who were not of the king's own race. See p. 78, n. 7, p. 120, n. 2, *suprà*.

<sup>62</sup> *Mancha*, more usually called *Moncha*;

A hundred wethers, a hundred cows, not sickly cows,  
And a hundred cloaks.

A hundred wethers, a hundred cows from Breadach<sup>1</sup>,  
Hard the story,  
And a hundred hogs in their droves,  
As I do relate.

A hundred wethers from the high Forthuatha<sup>1</sup>,  
And a hundred beeves,  
And a hundred hogs to him are given  
With a hundred cloaks.

Thrice fifty beeves from the Mancha<sup>2</sup>,  
Not slow is [the payment],  
Thrice fifty fair cloaks with borders  
Not crooked.

Three hundred oxen from Dubhthrian<sup>3</sup>  
Are due,  
And three hundred cows with their distended udders  
To the king.

Three hundred hogs from the territories of Cathal,  
Not severe,  
Three hundred goodly cloaks of [good] colors  
He is entitled to in the north.

or Monaigh Uladh. They were a Leinster tribe, descended from Monach, son of Oilioll Mor, son of Bracan, son of Fiac, son of Daire Barrach, son of Cathaer Mor, monarch of Ireland. They had alain their relative Eanna, the son of the king of Leinster, and fled to Eochaidh Gundat, king of Uladh, their mother's relative, and under the protection of St. Tighearnach of Cluain-Eois (Clones). Another branch of the same tribe settled at Loch Eirne, and gave name to Fir Manach (Fermanagh), a territory which they possessed

anterior to the Ui h-Eignigh and Meg Uidhir. See Dubh. Mac Fírbisigh's genealogical work, p. 466. The exact situation of this tribe has not been determined, but they were somewhere in the barony of Iveagh, in the county of Down. They existed down to so late a period as 1173, when, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, Mac Giolla Epscoip (Mac Gillespick), of this race, was chief of Clann Aeilabhra, and legislator of the tribe of Monach.

<sup>1</sup> *Duibhthrian*.—See p. 164, n. <sup>2</sup>, *supra*.

Ác rin a chíra dia choðair,  
clumís lið,

ceannmóda daer-chlanna an bómáin

! n-a<sup>o</sup> n-olig. . . . . DLI<sup>o</sup>IO.

\* *Unfree tribes, daer-chlanna.*—The celebrated Irish antiquary, Dubhaltach Mac Fírbisigh, mentions, in the preface to his smaller genealogical work, six classes of *daer-chlanna* among the ancient Irish, in terms which run as follows:

The Athach Tuath, or *daer-chlann* before mentioned: 1. The first race of them was the remnant of the Fir Bolg themselves, together with the remnant of the Tuath De Danann. 2. The second race, the people who passed from their own countries,—they being descended from *saer-chlann*,—who went under *daer-chios* (servile rent) to another tribe. 3. The third people were the race of *saer-chlann*, whose

land was converted into *fearann cloidhimh* (sword-land or conquered country) in their own territory, and who remained in it, in bondage, under the power of their enemies. 4. The fourth race were people of *saer-chlann*, who passed into bondage for their evil deeds, and who lost their blood and their land through their evil deeds, according to the law. 5. The fifth people were those who came (descended) from stranger soldiers, i.e. from external mercenaries, who left posterity in Éire. 6. The sixth race were the people who were descended from the bondmen who came with the children of Miléadh (Milesius) into Éire.

Thus, the *daer-chlanna* were not always



Such are his rents to assist him,  
Hear ye them,  
Besides what the unfree tribes\* of his kingdom [pay]  
In what they owe. . . . . ENTITLED.

slaves, nor of ignoble descent. They were sometimes men of the chieftain's own race, but who had lost their privileges in consequence of their crimes; and very often families, of best Milesian blood, who were expelled from their own native territories, and who had settled in other territories, where they were admitted on condition of rendering tributes and services not required of those who were native there. See Tribes and Customs of the Ui Maine, p. 84, where it is stated that the family of O'Maelfinnain (who were of noble race) were among the *daer-thuatha* of Ui Maine on account of their exile; and that the arch-chiefs of

Ui Maine could increase the rents on all the *daer-thuatha*, *ad libitum*.

In the prose, p. 108, the correlative terms *saer-thuatha* and *daer-thuatha* occur. The relation is not fully expressed by the terms of the translation, "noble tribes" and "unfree tribes." Strictly, the *tuatha* were the territories, inhabited by the *clanna* or tribes. The *saer-chlanna* were tribes of equal nobility with the chieftain; their tributes and privileges were fixed, and it is about them that the book before us is principally conversant; the *daer-chlanna* were of the inferior castes above indicated, and were subject to arbitrary tributes.

## IV.—DÚIGHEADH RÍGH TEAMPACH.

DO DÚIGHEADH RÍGH TEAMPACH ANB RO.

AN EAM NACH RÍGH FOR EIRIO RÍGH TEAMPACH, IREAD DÚIGEAR CÉAD CLAIÐEAM ACUR CÉAD RÍATH ACUR CÉAD N-ECH ACUR CÉAD N-ÉADACH N-DACHA ACUR CÉAD LÁIRPEACHG : Ó RÍGH EIRIO DO RÍGH TEAMPACH INO RIN.

O RÍGH TEAMPACH DONA DA RÍGAIB ACUR DO THUATHAIB NA MÍDÍ:

FÍCHÍ CORN, FÍCHÍ CLAIÐEAM, FÍCHÍ MOGAIB, FÍCHÍ MÍLCHON DO RÍGH DREÁG.

CÓIC RÍEITH, CÓIC CLAIÐÍM ACUR CÓIC BRUIE ACUR CÓIC EICH ACUR CÓIC COIM DO RÍGH MUIRÍ LACHA.

DEICH N-EICH, DEICH MOGAIB, [DEICH MNÁ], DEICH (G)-CUIRN DO RÍGH LAEGAIRÍ.

SEACTE RÍEITH ACUR REACTE N-EICH ACUR REACTE MOGAIB ACUR REACTE MNÁ ACUR REACTE (G)-COIM DO RÍGH AIRIOGAIL.

SEACTE N-EICH, REACTE (G)-CLAIÐÍM, REACTE (G)-CUIRN, REACTE M-BRUIE DO RÍGH FEAP CELLÍ.

SÉ H-EICH, RÉ CLAIÐÍM, RÉ RÍEITH, RÉ MOGAIB DO RÍGH FEAP TULACH.

OCTE RÍEITH, OCTE (G)-CLAIÐÍM, OCTE (G)-CUIRN, OCTE N-EICH DO RÍGH FEAP TEATHPAT.

SÉ RÍEITH, RÉ GAÐRA, RÉ BRUIE, RÉ MOGAIB, RÉ CUIRN DO RÍGH CUIRNE.

CÓIC EICH, CÓIC CLAIÐÍM, CÓIC BRUIE DO RÍGH H-ÚA M-DECCON.

CÓIC MNÁ, CÓIC EICH, CÓIC CUIRN, COIC RÍEITH DO RÍGH CHAILLÍ FAL-LAMAINÍ.

OCTE MOGAIB ACUR OCTE MNÁ ACUR OCTE N-EICH ACUR OCTE RÍEITH ACUR OCTE (G)-CLAIÐÍM DO RÍGH DEALBNA MÓIRÍ. CONÍD DÓIB-RIU' RO CHACHAIN [IN RÍFÍ RENCUPA] DENÉN [NA BUADA]:

## IV.—THE PRIVILEGES OF THE KING OF TEAMHAIR.

OF THE RIGHT of the king of Teamhair (Tara) here.

When the king of Teamhair is not king of Eire, he is entitled to receive a hundred swords and a hundred shields and a hundred steeds and a hundred colored dresses and a hundred coats of mail; these are from the king of Eire to the king of Teamhair.

From the king of Teamhair, too, to the kings and territories of Midhe (Meath) :

Twenty drinking-horns, twenty swords, twenty bondmen, twenty greyhounds to the king of Breagh.

Five shields, five swords and five cloaks and five steeds and five hounds to the king of Magh Locha.

Ten steeds, ten bondmen, ten women, ten drinking-horns to the king of Laeghaire.

Seven shields and seven steeds and seven bondmen and seven women and seven hounds to the king of Ardghal.

Seven steeds, seven swords, seven drinking-horns, seven cloaks to the king of Feara Ceall.

Six steeds, six swords, six shields, six bondmen to the king of Feara Tulach.

Eight shields, eight swords, eight drinking-horns, eight steeds to the king of Feara Teabhtha.

Six shields, six horses, six cloaks, six bondmen, six drinking-horns to the king of Cuircne.

Five steeds, five swords, five cloaks to the king of Ui Beccan.

Five women, five steeds, five drinking-horns, five shields to the king of Caille Fhallamhain.

Eight bondmen and eight women and eight steeds and eight shields and eight swords to the king of Desibhna Mor. Of which the gifted historical adept Benean sang :

Dúigíð ní Teampa cuirim  
 po indir denén búilíg,  
 i n-a n-oligeand i (o)-Teampaio<sup>8</sup>,  
 raí laione po lán meampaio<sup>8</sup>.

Céo claiðeab acur céo ríath,  
 oligeap ní Teampa<sup>10</sup> na (o)-ríath,  
 céao n-epaio acur céat n-each,  
 céao leano<sup>11</sup> acur céao lúneach.

Dúigíð fíno níg flatha ðreag  
 fíchi coru, fíchi claiðeam,  
 fíchi mílcón, fíchi moí  
 ó níg Teampa<sup>12</sup> i (o)-cuirpíol.

Dúigíð ní Muirí Zacha  
 cóic ríeth, cóic claiðmí caía,  
 cóic bhuir éapa acur cóic eich,  
 cóic eich gela<sup>13</sup> [cúig coin gela B.] 'n-glan ríeth.

Dúigíð ní Laegairí<sup>14</sup> luath  
 deich n-eich theanoa óó 'n-a thuath,  
 deic moíao, deich mná mópa,  
 deich (g)-coin, deich (g)-cuirpí cóim-óla.

Cuirpíal níg áin<sup>15</sup> Aroíal  
 ré [reac B.] ríeth, ré h-eich [reac n-ec B.] a h-Albain,  
 ré [reac B.] mná mópa, ré [reac B.] moíao  
 acur ré ré coin do'n aib [reac (g)-coin du éonaib B.].

Dúigíð ní Caillí Eachach<sup>16</sup>  
 ré coin epéna [reac n-ec epén B.] do'n epééach,

<sup>a</sup> *Breagh*.—See p. 11, note <sup>2</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>b</sup> *Magh Locha*.—The name of this territory is preserved in that of the parish of "Moylagh," in the barony of "Fore," or "Demifore," as it was till recently called, in East Meath; but the territory was certainly more extensive than the parish which

retains the name.

<sup>c</sup> *Laeghaire*.—A territory in East Meath, which comprised the baronies of "Upper and Lower Navan." This was the inheritance of O'Coinnealbhain (Quinlan), the senior representative of the monarch Laeghaire, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages.

THE RIGHTS of the king of Teamhair reckon  
 [Which] the beautiful Benean told,  
 What is due to him at Teamhair,  
 A Latin scholar has fully observed it.

A hundred swords and a hundred shields  
 The king of Teamhair of lords is entitled to,  
 A hundred dresses and a hundred steeds,  
 A hundred tunics and a hundred coats of mail.

Entitled is the fair king of the principality of Breagh<sup>a</sup>  
 To twenty drinking-horns, twenty swords,  
 Twenty greyhounds, twenty bondmen  
 From the king of Teamhair as a stipend.

Entitled is the king of Magh Locha<sup>b</sup>  
 To five shields, five swords of battle,  
 Five short cloaks and five steeds,  
 Five white hounds in fine array.

Entitled is the rapid king of Laeghaire<sup>c</sup>  
 To ten strong steeds in his territory,  
 Ten bondmen, ten large women,  
 Ten hounds, ten horns for drinking.

The stipend of the noble king of Ardghal<sup>d</sup> [is]  
 Seven shields, seven steeds out of Alba [Scotland],  
 Seven large women, seven bondmen  
 And seven hounds [all] of the same kind.

Entitled is the king of Caille Eachach<sup>e</sup>,  
 The populous, to seven strong steeds,

The church of "Trim," Tealach Ard, and the hill of Tlachtgha, were in it. See the Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society, pp. 138, 142. See also Ussher's *Primordia*, p. 853; O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 85; Petrie's *Ancient Architecture of Ireland*, p. 28; and page 10, note <sup>t</sup>, *suprd.*

<sup>d</sup> *Ardghal*.—A territory in East Meath, but its exact position has not been determined. Its chief is mentioned in the *Annals of the Four Masters* at the year 742, as lord or *tighearna Ardghail*.

<sup>e</sup> *Caille Eachach*, i. e. the wood of Eochaidh. This was another name for the

peét (g)-claidim ré cop catha,  
 peacht (g)-cuirn, peét m-bruit deð dæta.

Olúgíó teand níg Fear Tulach  
 ré h-eich a cneapais cupach,  
 ré claidim, ré rcéith deapga  
 i ré goill<sup>17</sup> cean ðaeidealgá.

Tuarirtol [rí] Fear Teathfa<sup>18</sup>  
 ocht rcéith, ocht (g)-claidim deapfa<sup>19</sup>,  
 ocht (g)-cuirn, ocht leanna 'n-a láim,  
 ocht mná deapfa o'á<sup>20</sup> óingðál.

Olúgíó níg Cuircne in chalaio  
 ré rcéith acur ré gabaip,

territory of Fears Ceall, i. e. men of the churches, which comprised the modern baronies of "Fircall," "Ballycowan," and "Ballyboy," in the King's County. This was the most southern territory of the ancient Midhe (Meath), and is still comprised in the southern portion of the diocese of Meath. It was bounded on the south by Eile Uí Chearbhaill, which was a part of Munster. After the establishment of surnames, the dominant family in this territory took the name of O'Mael-mhuaidh, now Anglicized O'Molloy. The celebrated churches of Rathin Mochuda, Lann Elo (Lynally), Druim Cuillen, Dur-mhagh Choluim Chille (Darrow), and Rath Libhthen, are mentioned by old writers as in this territory. See Usher's *Primordia*, pp. 910, 962; Colgan's *Trias Thaum.* p. 373, n. 26; Irish Calendar of the O'Clerighs, 10th June.

<sup>17</sup> *Fears Tulach*, i. e. the men of the hills, now the barony of "Feartullagh," in the south-east of Westmeath. After the establishment of surnames the chief family

in this territory took the surname of O'Dubhlaighe (O'Dooley). They were dispossessed by the O'Maileachlainns (O'Melaghlin) and the Anglo-Norman family of Tyrrell, and they settled in Eile Uí Chearbhaill (Ely O'Carroll), where they are still numerous. See Feilire Aenghuis, 9th January; O h-Uidhrin's topographical poem; Colgan's *Acta SS.* p. 135; and Mac Firbisigh's pedigree of O'Maileachlainn.

<sup>18</sup> *Teabhtha*.—This name, also written Teathbha, Teathfa, was Latinized "Teffia." See pp. 10, 11, nn. <sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>. In St. Patrick's time it was applied to a very extensive territory forming the north-west portion of the ancient Midhe (Meath). It was divided into two parts by the River Eithne (Inny), called North and South Teabhtha, the former comprising nearly all the present county of Longford, and the latter about the western half of the present county of Westmeath, namely, the districts of Calraidhe, Breagh-mhaine ("Brawney"), Cuircne (now the barony of "Kilkenny

Seven swords for fighting in battle,  
Seven drinking-horns, seven well-colored cloaks.

Entitled is the stout king of Feara Tulach<sup>f</sup>  
To six steeds from the middle of boats,  
Six swords, six red shields  
And six foreigners without Gaeidhealga [Irish].

The stipend of the king of the men of Teabhtha<sup>g</sup> [is]  
Eight shields, eight swords for battle,  
Eight drinking-horns, eight mantles in his hand,  
Eight bondwomen befitting him.

Entitled is the king of Cuircne of the Caladh<sup>h</sup>  
To six shields and six horses,

West"), besides the lands assigned to the Tuites, Petits, and Daltons, and the barony of "Kilcoursey" in the north of the King's County. But the Conmaicne or Ui Fearghail (O'Farrells), gradually extended their power over the whole of North Teabhtha, and gave it their tribe-name of Anghaile, *Anglicè* "Annaly;" and after the English invasion various families of Anglo-Normans settled in South Teabhtha, so that the ancient Irish chieftains of the territory, namely, the Ui Catharnaigh (O'Caharneys, now Foxes), were driven into a very narrow stripe of it, namely, into the present barony of "Kilcoursey," to which they gave their tribe-name of Muintir Thadhgain. See the *Feilire Aenghuís* at 6th February; Colgan's *Trias Thaum.*, p. 183; O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 85; Lanigan's *Eccl. History of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 100; and the *Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society*, pp. 184, 185.

<sup>h</sup> *Cuircne of the Caladh*, i. e. of the marshy district, the local meaning of the

word *caladh*, "callow," along the River Sionainn (Shannon). This territory is still called in Irish *Cuircneach*, and comprises the entire of the present barony of "Kilkenny West," in Westmeath, and that part of the parish of Forgnuidhe (Forgney), lying on the south side of the River Eithne (Inny). After the establishment of surnames the chief family of this territory took the name of O'Tolairg, a name now, probably, unidentifiable. After the English invasion the ancient families of Cuircne were dispossessed by the Dillons. See the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, lib. ii. c. 2, published by Colgan in his *Trias Thaum.*, p. 129; D. Mac Fírbisigh's genealogical work (*Marquis of Drogheda's copy*), pp. 115, 308, 309, 330; O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. cc. 81, 85; and the Editor's edition of the second part of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, p. 822, n. P. See also the *Feilire Aenghuís*, at 18th October, and the *Irish Calendar of the O'Clerighs*, at 11th July, 18th October, and 18th December, from which it will appear that the churches of Disert

ré bpuir acur ré bachlaib,  
ré cuipn dála, dian athláim.

Tuairpeol níg h-Ua m-Beccon  
cóic eich luatha ré licon,  
cóic bpuir breaca buan a n-oath  
acur cóic claidim i (g)-cath.

Óligiú ní Chaillí in Ollamh<sup>1</sup>  
cóic rcéith, cóic cuipn nor congaid,  
cóic eich á longaid lána,  
cóic mná daera omgála.

Óligiú níg Dealbna na n-dám  
ocht (g)-claidim, ocht rcéith tar rál,  
cóic eich [ocht n-ec B.] co copaid caela,  
ocht moaid, ocht mná daera.

h-é rin peanchap<sup>2</sup> níg Teampach,  
ní púip<sup>3</sup> cach báro bélgach,  
ní oip<sup>4</sup> báro, acht oip filead<sup>5</sup>  
fir cach níg ir a óligeó<sup>6</sup>. . . . .

ÓLIGIÚ.

TUAROSTOL níg thuath Míó amail ro ráioíreamap<sup>6</sup>.

Conlocha, Cluain Conaidh, and Forgnuidhe were in this territory.

<sup>1</sup> *Ui Beccon*, i.e. the race of Beg-on (a man's name signifying "of little blemish"), who was seventh in descent from Eochaidh Muigh-mheadhoin, monarch of Ireland in the fourth century. See *Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Ui Fiachrach*, p. 13. This tribe is mentioned in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, at the year 1066, and their territory of "Tir Beccan," at the year 1159. This territory would appear to be included in the present barony of "Ratoath," in the county of Meath, where there is a fort and parish called Rath

Beccon.

<sup>2</sup> *Caille an Ollaimh*, i.e. the wood of the Ollamh, or chief professor. It is more correctly called *Caille Fhallamhain*, i.e. *Fallamhan's* (Fallon's) wood, in the prose anatomy of this poem. The situation of this territory appears from a note in the *Feilire Aenghuis* at the 14th September, and also from the *Irish Calendar of the O'Clérighs*, at the same day, which place in it the church of Roseach (Russagh), in the barony of "Moygoish," and county of Westmeath.

<sup>3</sup> *Dealbna*, the "Delvins," *scilicet*, the districts so called in Meath. These were



Six cloaks and six bondmen,  
Six drinking-horns for distribution, fully prepared.

The stipend of the king of Ui Beccon<sup>1</sup> [is]  
Five swift steeds [ready] to start,  
Five chequered (plaid) cloaks of lasting color  
And five swords for battle.

Entitled is the king of Caille Fhallamhain<sup>1</sup>  
To five shields, five drinking-horns to possess,  
Five steeds from out of full ships,  
Five bondwomen befitting [him].

Entitled is the king of Dealbhna<sup>2</sup> of poets  
To eight swords, eight shields [brought] across the brine,  
Eight steeds with slender legs,  
Eight bondmen, eight bondwomen.

That is the history of the king of Teamhair;  
It is not known to every prattling bard<sup>1</sup>;  
It is not the right of a bard, but the right of a poet  
To know each king and his right. . . . THE RIGHTS.

THE STIPENDS of the kings of the territories of Midhe (Meath)  
are as we have said.

Dealbhna Mor, now called the barony of "Delvin," in the county of Westmeath; Dealbhna Beag, now called the barony of "Demi Fore," in the same county; Dealbhna Eathra, now called the barony of "Garrycastle" in the King's Co., and Dealbhna Teannmuigh, which was a part of Teathbha, the exact situation of which has not been yet determined. See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 82, and D. Mac Fírbisigh's genealogical work (Marquis of Drogheda's copy), pp. 57, 845. See page 105, note 1, *supra*, for the tribes of this name seated in the province of Connacht. After the estab-

lishment of surnames, O'Fionnallain was the chief of Dealbhna Mor; O'Maíl-challainn (Mulholland), of Dealbhna Beag; Mac Cochlain (Mac Coghlan), of Dealbhna Eathra; and O'Scolaidhe (Scully), of Dealbhna Teannmuigh, which was otherwise called Dealbhna Iarthair, or western Dealbhna. See O'Dubhagain's topographical poem, in which this last-mentioned territory is placed in the country of "Teathbha."

<sup>1</sup> *Bard*.—This word, among the ancient Irish, meant an inferior poet or rhymist. The Ollamh filéadh was a man of far higher distinction.

Círa din<sup>m</sup> acur béra acur biaḡa riḡ Teamrach ó chuathaiḡ-ano  
ro, féiḡ ro epnet acur ro ícaio fpi Conn acur fpi Cormac acur  
fpi Cairpri, conio óiḡ gaḡrao riḡi iap fuidiu. Comeap cána acur  
cóm-íca cean eormach ap dáḡḡ raiḡbri, cean eapnaḡ ap vai[ḡ]bri,  
aḡe muna theaḡaiḡ<sup>m</sup> oíḡ fop fíniḡ<sup>m</sup> nó pláḡḡ nó una<sup>30</sup> nó duinebáḡ, a  
thobach iap (ḡ)-cómícao acur iap (ḡ)-cómíaiḡeao in each bliadain.  
Triap eobaiḡ na cána fí<sup>31</sup> do fíoiḡ fíniḡ na Teamrach, il-lón acur  
il-longaḡo dóiḡ, acur ap eapíoiḡ co h-uain aḡaiḡic iap n-uapí<sup>32</sup>;  
conio dóiḡ [fí<sup>31</sup>] at beḡ<sup>33</sup> ḡenén:

cíḡ tuath mío<sup>34</sup>, mó<sup>35</sup> in ícél,  
ro moir fíli fí<sup>36</sup> thpéan,  
map fógnao do T(h)eamair eapí<sup>37</sup>  
ó aimpíeir Chuino Chéet Chathaiḡ.

Óligiḡ riḡ Teamrach na (o)-tuath;—  
raí no realḡa<sup>38</sup> co rá<sup>39</sup> luath [íluaiḡ B.]—  
caeca vaḡ o'n váim Dé<sup>37</sup>,  
caeca cpán, caeca céi<sup>39</sup>.

Tricha vaḡ a Dáil n-lathap,  
triacha cpáin, í<sup>40</sup> cí<sup>41</sup> briaḡap,  
triacha molḡ, maith an monap,  
do rí Míoi in mó<sup>35</sup> monaḡ<sup>36</sup>.

Tri chéoi vaḡ ó na Dealbnaíḡ  
do thopachḡain co Teamraíḡ,  
trí céat topc, trí chéao tindi,  
trí céat molḡ o'n mó<sup>35</sup> fíne<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> *Conn of the Hundred Battles.*—He became monarch of Ireland A. D. 177. See *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 70.

<sup>n</sup> *Deise.*—The people so called were descended from Fiacha Suighthe, the elder brother of Conn of the Hundred Battles. They were seated in, and gave name to the territory of Deise Teamhrach, now called the barony of "Deece," in the county of

Meath. They are said to have been expelled thence by their relative Cormac, the grandson of Conn of the Hundred Battles, about the year 254, when they settled in the present county of Waterford. See page 49, note <sup>k</sup>; but it would appear from this poem that they were in Meath at the time of its composition, unless by Deise in the text we are to understand not the tribe but

The rents and the customs and the refectations of the king of Teamhair from his chieftains here, as they yielded and paid them to Conn and to Cormac and to Cairbre, from whom (i. e. from whose race) they subsequently selected kings. The tribute and the payment must be the same [at all times] without any addition for increased wealthiness, without any deficiency for impoverishment, unless in case of a destruction of the tribe, or plague, or famine, or mortality,—to be levied, be it great or be it little, every year. The third of this tribute, for collecting it, belongs to the local families of Teamhair, for store and provision for them, and to be stored by them for future occasion; of which Benean said:

THE TRIBUTES of the territories of Midhe, great the narrative,  
A truly potent poet has related,  
As they are rendered to Teamhair in the east,  
From the time of Conn of the Hundred Battles<sup>m</sup>.

Entitled is the king of Teamhair of the territories,—  
A chief who possesses [his kingdom] with a choice host,—  
To fifty oxen from the tribe of Deise<sup>n</sup>,  
Fifty sows, fifty young pigs.

Thirty oxen from Dal Iarthair<sup>o</sup>,  
Thirty sows, which is a tribute to be talked of,  
Thirty wethers, good the store,  
To the king of Midhe of much money.

Three hundred oxen from the Dealbhna<sup>p</sup>  
To be conveyed to Teamhair,  
Three hundred hogs, three hundred tinnies (salted pigs),  
Three hundred wethers from the great tribe.

the territory to which they had given name, but in which a tribe of a different race were then established. There are many instances of this in Ireland, as *Tír Oiliolla*, in the county of Sligo, and *Tír Eáanna*, in the county of Donegal, &c., which retained names derived from ancient proprietors, though their races either became extinct,

or were supplanted by others.

<sup>o</sup> *Dal Iarthair*, i. e. the Western Tribe. This name does not occur in the Irish Annals or in any other authority that the Editor has ever seen. It was evidently a name applied to a tribe in the west of Westmeath.

<sup>p</sup> *Dealbhna*.—See p. 182, n. <sup>b</sup>, *suprà*.

Trí chaecaid leana a Lúighne,  
trí chaecaid torc, nor tuirniú,  
trí chaeca mar, cean meðail,  
do thobairt c'etrom Teamhair<sup>10</sup>.

Céo mar é Fearaid Arda,  
céao fino molt, minar farga<sup>11</sup>,  
céat torc, ir etrom in cuimne,  
céat brat, níð na móir Lúighne<sup>12</sup>.

Céo páir brat ir na Saiéníð,  
céo crán, ir cród fri tairiú,

<sup>10</sup> *Luighne*, also called *Luaighne*, and now corruptly *Luibhne*. This was a territory of considerable extent in Meath, and its name is still preserved in that of the small barony of "Lune," near the town of Trim, in the west of the county of East Meath; but the territory of *Luighne* was much more extensive than the modern barony, for we learn from the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick published by Colgan, lib. ii. c. 10, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 180, that the church of Domhnach Mor Muighe Eachnach, "Donaghmore," near the town of "Navan," was in this territory. After the establishment of surnames the chief family of this territory took the surname of O'Braein (O'Brien), but he is to be distinguished from O'Braein, of Breagh-mhaine (Brawny), in Westmeath, who is descended from Maine, the fourth son of the monarch Niall of the Nine Hostages; whereas O'Braein of *Luighne*, in Meath, is of the race of Cormac Gaileang, son of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilioll Olum, king of Munster. See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, cc. 69, 85. See also O'Dubhagain's topographical poem, and Annals of the Four Masters, A. D. 1201; and p. 108, n. b, *supra*.

<sup>11</sup> *Feara Arda*, i. e. the men of the heights, now the barony of "Ferrard," forming the southern portion of the county of Louth. The hills of Sliabh Breagh extend across this barony, from near "Collon" to "Clogher Head," and from this range of hills this people took their name. The territory was otherwise called *Arda Cianachta*. The churches of Cluain Mor and Disert Meithle Caeile are mentioned in the Irish Calendar of the O'Clerighs, as in this territory. See Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, lib. ii. c. 48, and Colgan's note in *Trias Thaum.*, p. 177, note 90. O'Dubhagain does not mention this territory under either name in his topographical poem, nor is it referred to in the Irish Annals after the tenth century, so that we have no means of determining the name of the principal family seated here before the English invasion. This barony, and all the region extending from Glais Nears, near Druim Inascluinn (Drumiskin), in the county of Louth, to Cnocaihbh Maeldoid, at the River Liffey (but not including Teamhair or Tara) were granted to Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilioll Olum, by king Cormac, the son of Art, after the battle of Crinna, fought A. D. 254. See Annals of

Thrice fifty mantles from the Luighne<sup>a</sup>,  
 Thrice fifty hogs, as was reckoned,  
 Thrice fifty beeves, without default,  
 To be brought to great Teamhair.

A hundred beeves from the Feara Arda<sup>a</sup>,  
 A hundred white wethers, unless they procure those [the beeves],  
 A hundred hogs, heavy the remembrance,  
 A hundred cloaks, the enumeration of the great Luighne.

A hundred best cloaks from the Saithne<sup>a</sup>,  
 A hundred sows, a stock for wealth,

Tighearnach, *apud* O'Connor, *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, vol. ii. p. 45; Keating, in regimine Fearghus Duibhheadach, and O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 68. For some notices of the chiefs of this tribe of the Cianachta, see Annals of Tighearnach at the years 662, 688, 785, 742, 748, 749; and Annals of the Four Masters at the years 226, 528, 570, 732, 765, 789, 848, 849, and 918.

<sup>a</sup> *Saithne*.—This tribe were descended from Glasradh, the second son of Cormac Gaileang, son of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilioll Olum. They were a subsection of the Cianachta Breagh, and were seated near the sea, in the east of "Bregia," or "Fingall," to the north of Dublin. See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 69, and D. Mac Firlisigh's genealogical work (*Marquis of Drogheda's copy*), pp. 848, 358. After the establishment of surnames the chief family of this territory took the surname of O'Cathasaigh, now *Anglicè* Casey; they were dispossessed by Sir Hugh de Lacy, who sold their lands, as we are informed by Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Hibernia Expugnata*, lib. ii. c. 24, where he states that Philippus Wigorniensis, Justiciary of Ireland, seized

on the lands of—"Ocathesi," to the king's use, though Hugh de Lacy had formerly sold them. According to Alan's Register, fol. 21, amongst other grants, king John, when he was Earl of Morton, confirmed to Archbishop Comyn "Medietatem Decimarum Terre O'Kadesi, de Finegall." And in the same Register, fol. 110, is contained a charter by which John Archbishop of Dublin grants "omnes ecclesias, capellas, et decimas de totâ terrâ que fuit O'Kadesi, que in parochiâ Dublin est," to the prior and convent of Laothonia, Gloucester, and in which the following places are mentioned as in it, viz.: "Ecclesia de Villâ Ogari, cum capellâ que quondam fuit Richardi Camerarii; ecclesia de Sancto Nemore [Holywood] cum capellâ que dicitur Gratas; ecclesia de Villâ Stephani de Cruces cum pertinentibus suis," &c. Ecclesia de Villâ Macdun cum decimis; et Villa Willielmî Bartinet et Ecclesia de Terrâ Rogeri de Waspeile et ecclesia de Villâ Radulphi Pastons et capella Richardi Lafelde."

In D'Alton's History of the County of Dublin, p. 497, the parish "De Sancto Nemore," i. e. Holywood, is called the church of St. Nemore.

acur céat mapc ar moigib  
 ir céat molt dia móroigib<sup>6</sup>.

Céad topc a Cuircne<sup>6</sup> in chocaid,  
 céad mapc, ir mór an obair,  
 acur céat lulgach lána  
 do pí laidech Liath Trága<sup>6</sup>.

Trí chéad topc a tíg Gaileang,  
 trí céad molt, trí céat pa leann<sup>6</sup>,  
 trí chéad dam, dian in choðair,  
 do'n C(h)laen Ráich, do chualabair<sup>7</sup>.

Céad molt a<sup>6</sup> Fearaid Tulach,  
 céad topc do'n óun nach ouðach,  
 céad lulgach co n-a laegaid,  
 céat dam, nocho beart baegail<sup>6</sup>.

Trícha molt a Muig Lacha  
 do pí Clæn Ráta in éata,  
 trícha lulgach buid bláich,  
 trícha dam ir a' deáig ráich<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> *Cuircne*, now called the barony of "Kilkenny West," in Westmeath. Here the poet jumps from the extreme east of East Meath to the extreme west of Westmeath. See page 181, note <sup>b</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>7</sup> *Liath Thraigh*, i. e. the grey strand. The Editor never met this name in any other Irish authority. *Liath Droma* in B., seems the correct reading.

<sup>8</sup> *Gaileanga*.—This tribe also was descended from Cormac Gaileang, son of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilioll Olum. There were two territories of this name in the ancient Midhe (Meath), the one called Gaileanga Mora, or the Great Gaileanga, the name of which is still preserved in that of the barony of Mór-gaileang, *Anglice*

"Morgallion," in the county of Meath; but the territory was more extensive than the barony, for we learn from the gloss to the *Feilire Aenghuís*, 18th October, that the mountainous district of Sliabh Guaire, now a part of the barony of "Clankee," in the county of Cavan, originally belonged to Gaileanga, Fíndrech, uirgo, ḡ Ernaidhe nomen civitatis eius, hi Sleibh Guaire, h. n-Gaileangaid, i. e. Finneach *Virgo et Ernaidhe nomen civitatis ejus in Sliabh Guaire in Gaileangis*. The other, called Gaileanga Beaga, was situate in Bregia, in East Meath, near the River Liffey. Its position is known only from the fact that the monastery of Glais Naeidhin (Glasnevin), near Dublin, was in

And a hundred beeves on the plains  
And a hundred wethers to be slaughtered.

A hundred hogs from warlike Cuircne',  
A hundred beeves, great is the store,  
And a hundred full milch-cows  
To the mighty king of Liath Druim<sup>u</sup>.

Three hundred hogs from the territory of Gaileanga',  
Three hundred wethers, three hundred best mantles,  
Three hundred oxen, vast the assistance,  
To the Claen Rath, ye have heard.

A hundred wethers from the Feara Tulach<sup>w</sup>,  
A hundred hogs to the fort [which is] not cheerless,  
A hundred milch-cows with their calves,  
A hundred oxen, without any failure.

Thirty wethers from Magh Locha<sup>x</sup>  
To the king of warlike Claen Rath<sup>y</sup>,  
Thirty goodly beautiful milch-cows,  
Thirty oxen to the goodly fort.

it. Dr. Lanigan asserts that Gláis-naidhen must have been on the south side of the River Liffey, for no other reason than because Rawson, in his Introduction to the Statistical Survey of Kildare, had said or conjectured that Caélan was bounded by the Liffey on the north; but Rawson was misled by Beauford, who forged an ancient Topography of Ireland, which was published in the eleventh number of the *Collectanea*. According to O'Dubhagain's topographical poem, O'Leochain, *Anglicè* "Loughan," and *Barbaricè* "Duck," was chief of Gaileanga Mora, and O h-Aenghusa (Hennessy), of Gaileanga Beaga. Both were dispossessed by Sir Hugh de Lacy,

the elder, and his followers, shortly after the English invasion, and the descendants of the conquered Gaileanga have remained in obscurity ever since, for none of this family have risen beyond the rank of cottiers or farmers;" but the "O'Hennessys" of the race of Cathaer Mor furnished a colonel to support the claims of James II. who followed his fortunes beyond seas.

<sup>w</sup> *Feara Tulach*.—See page 180, note <sup>f</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>x</sup> *Magh Locha*.—See page 178, note <sup>b</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>y</sup> *Claen Rath*, i. e. the inclining fort, a name of Teamhair (Tara). See Petrie's *Antiquities of Tara Hill*, p. 197.

Searca brat a h-Uið Beccan,  
 fearca mar, mór in t-eagor,  
 la fearcaó cránaó cúdaó,  
 fearca brat 'r-a' mór chulaig'.

Ireao rin ólígear do chruó  
 ri Miói, cean mór orbul,  
 1 (ó)-Teatpaoí buioi, mar bír:  
 ireao rin uilí a n-ápo chír. óis tuath [miúe].

\* *Ui Beccan*.—See p. 182, n. 1, *supra*.



Sixty cloaks from the Ui Beccon<sup>s</sup>,  
Sixty beeves, great the collection,  
With sixty excellect sows,  
[And] sixty cloaks to the great hill [Teamhair].

That is what is due in cattle  
To the king of Midhe, without great error,  
At good Teamhair, as he is:  
Such be all his high rents. . . . . THE TRIBUTES.

# V. DLIGHEADH RÍGH LAIGHEAN, AGUS CIMHNA CHATHAEIR MHÓIR.

ACÉ AND SO CIMHNA CHATHAÍR MAIR FOR A [CLAIMO]  
FOR A MÚCAIB AIREADÓIB ACUR FOR A CLAIMO CHÓMAPBAIR; ACUR DO  
RAD NÍ CACH MEIC DÍB DIA FOIRB ACUR DIA INDÍUR.

ACUR AR BEARTE FFI ROP FÁILGÍ 'C-Á' BEANNOCHAD :—

“MO FÉALITHIS, MO ÓRÖAN,  
MO FÁIRI, MO FÚNEADÓI,  
MO FEÖIB, MO FOINEPCÍ,  
MO ÉUMAR COMÁIRGÍ  
DO-M' ROP ROGAR, DO-M' FÁILGÍ FAEÐRACH :  
CORAB CUIMNEACH CÓMAPBAIR  
DO CHACH AR A M-[B]IAO,  
ÁR' IR DÓ IR DÁN TIONOCOL,  
NIRAB FEÖIB FÍR-THAIRCEAR,  
FÉARNAR DO CHACH CAEM PAÉA;  
CAIN IN MINO MÓR MAIREACH,  
MO MÍAC MÓRGAR MÍN AICNIG',  
CATH-BUADACH COICPICHÍ;  
IMPOA PIA (D)-TEAMAIR MUIG,  
NÍ DILLA DO BÉATHAIRPI;

<sup>a</sup> *Testament of Cathair Mor*.—This will has been noticed by O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 59, where he gives a short account of it, from which it appears that the document he used was different from our text; but he does not inform us where it is preserved, or whether he believed it was an authentic document. He merely remarks:

“Thus I find the will of king Cathair has been committed to writing.” The words of Cathair's will are in that peculiar metre called by the Irish poets “Rithlearg” (and “Ritairc”), an example of which occurs in the *Battle of Mágh Rath*, p. 154, and many other examples will be found in the ancient Irish historical tale called “Forbais

# V. THE PRIVILEGES OF THE KING OF LAIGHIN, WITH, THE WILL OF CATHAEIR MOR.

HERE IS THE TESTAMENT OF CATHAEIR MOR<sup>a</sup> to his children, to his principal sons and his heirs, and he gave to each son of them a part of his patrimony and of his wealth.

And he said to Ros Failghe<sup>b</sup>, blessing him;—

“ MY SOVEREIGNTY, my splendor,  
My nobleness, my vigor,  
My wealth, my strength,  
My power of protection  
To my fierce Ros, to my vehement Failghe,  
That they may be the memorials of succession  
To every one [of his race] on whom they descend,  
For to him belongs to make presents,  
That he is not to hoard wealth perpetually,  
[But] let him give unto all fair wages;  
Clement is the great and comely hero,  
My vehement son, smooth-minded,  
Victorious in his border-battles;  
He shall contend for the plain of Teamhair,  
He shall not abandon it to his relatives;

*Droma Damghaire*,” preserved in the Book of Lios Mor (*Lismore*), in the Library of the R. Irish Academy. See Introduction.

<sup>a</sup>Cathaeir Mor was monarch of Ireland in the second century. According to the Irish genealogists he had three wives and thirty sons, but only the ten mentioned in this will had issue. See O’Fla. *Ogygia*, p. iii. c. 59.

<sup>b</sup> *Ros Failghe*, i. e. Ros of the rings. He is the ancestor of the Ui Failghe, of whom O’Conchobhair Failghe (O’Conor Faly), and O’Diomasaigh (O’Dempsey) of Clann Maéiliaghra (Clanmalier), and O’Duinn (O’Dunne) of Iregan, were the most distinguished families after the establishment of surnames. See p. 216, n. <sup>1</sup>, *infra*.

beapa báig lé-m' buan macaib<sup>6</sup>  
 fhu nithaib a n-éirí; —  
 co bráth buíoneach beanaíct', —  
 pob fearr cáe fear Fáilgi Ror."

Acup do beap<sup>6</sup> dó deich ríeith acup deich (b)-fáilgi acup deich  
 (g)-claidim acup déich (g)-cuirn, acup ao beap<sup>6</sup> fhu, —

"**ḌAD SĀERA** do élanba ier élanbaib mo éloinor-pea."

Ar<sup>9</sup> rin ar beap<sup>6</sup> fhu Dáiri Darrach<sup>10</sup>:

"**MO ḠAISCEAD**, mo ḡear-luinoi  
 do-m' D(h)áiri burb, beoda-ra:  
 pob mac ochta airíachta  
 cach mac buan do-o' bpoind fine;  
 a D(h)áiri, co n-dánur<sup>11</sup>  
 fuig air mach<sup>12</sup> Tuath Laignean;  
 cráidírea crícha Dear Ḡabair;  
 ná ḡab reobu i-o' chomairgi<sup>13</sup>;  
 buaib bpeit<sup>14</sup> do-e' ingeanraib  
 oia (b)-faerab; do<sup>15</sup> fcan athair  
 Cathair, ceap<sup>6</sup> in chóicid-pea,  
 do bér úuib a beanaichtain  
 co mað nia co roðarḡhain<sup>16</sup>  
 ór Ḡailianchaib ḡlar . . . **MO ḠAISCEAD**.

Acup ao<sup>17</sup> beap<sup>6</sup> dó la roðain ocht moḡaib acup ocht mná acup  
 ocht n-eich acup ocht (g)-cuirn.

Ar beap<sup>6</sup> oin por<sup>6</sup> fhu Dpearal n-Eineachlair:

<sup>6</sup> *Daire Barrach*.—He was the ancestor of the family of Mac Gorman, chief of the Ui Bairrche, for the situation of which see page 212, n. m, *infra*. St. Fiach of Sleibhte, now "Slatey," in "Omargy," is said to have been the great-grandson of this Daire Barrach, and St. Diarmad, the founder of the church of Gleann Uissen, a remarkable valley, situate two miles to the west of Carlow, was the

sixth in descent from him, according to the O'Clerighs.

<sup>10</sup> *Deas Ghabhair*.—According to the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 920, this was another name for Ui Ceinnsealaigh. See the Introduction.

<sup>11</sup> *Gailgins*.—An old name of the Laignigh, or Leinstermen. See Introduction.

<sup>12</sup> *Eight bondmen*.—O'Flaherty says, *ubi*

He will give his aid to my steadfast sons  
 Against the attacks of their enemies;  
 To the multitudinous day of judgment [is this] blessing,—  
 Better than every man shall Failghe Ros be.”

And he gave him ten shields and ten rings and ten swords and ten drinking-horns, and he said to him,—

“NOBLEST SHALL BE thy descendants among the descendants of my children.”

Then he said to Daire Barrach<sup>c</sup>:

“MY VALOR, my martial impetuosity  
 To my fierce, vigorous Daire;  
 The darling of the assembly  
 Shall every steadfast son of the tribes of thy loins be;  
 O Daire, with boldness  
 Sit on the frontier of Tuath Laighean (north Leinster);  
 Thou shalt harass the lands of Deas Ghabhair<sup>d</sup> (south Leinster);  
 Receive not price for thy protection;  
 Thy daughters shall be blessed with fruitfulness  
 If they wed; thy old father  
 Cathaeir, the head of this province,  
 Gives thee his benediction  
 That thou shouldst be a powerful champion  
 Over the green Gailians<sup>e</sup>.” . . . . . MY VALOR.

And he gave him, thereupon, eight bondmen<sup>f</sup> and eight women and eight steeds and eight drinking-horns.

He said afterwards to Breasal Eineach-ghlais<sup>g</sup>:

*supra*, that before king “Cathir” fell in the battle of “Talten,” he ordered his son, “Ross Failge,” to give legacies to the rest of his sons, and to the other nobles of Leinster, and that he presented “to Daire Barry one hundred round spears, with silver blades, fifty shields in cases of gold and

silver richly carved, fifty swords of a peculiar workmanship, five rings of gold ten times melted, one hundred and fifty cloaks variegated with Babylonian art, and seven military standards.”

<sup>g</sup> *Bréasal Eineach-ghlais*.—He is the ancestor of a tribe called the *Ui Eineach-ghlais*,

“MO LEAR, co n-a lán-éoraó,  
 do-m' éreapal bino ériathrach-ra;  
 geib lat Innhear n-Aimherghin,  
 iar feibad na sean roinib;  
 firi raera, co ruthaine<sup>19</sup>,  
 uaid-reo; iaruim aipeimthar<sup>20</sup>  
 tuirc thraethraó<sup>21</sup> a thiúg-raoap  
 i (g)-cin lánim<sup>22</sup> lánimthig;  
 cia éreapao a friuthir,  
 ní ba feailda rearcuaidiú  
 i (g)-cup dochrabib.

Acup do beapre dó ré longa acup ré lúipeachia acup ré h-inair  
 acup ré rcéith acup ré h-eich; acup do beapre dó ré dóim foóépin  
 co lín a (b)-fualairc<sup>23</sup>.

Acup do beapre fri Céatach<sup>24</sup>:

“MO CHRÍCHA reachtaró  
 do Céasach criúeochar<sup>25</sup>;  
 ba óich borb do-o<sup>26</sup> éráthirri;  
 cia beith real<sup>27</sup> fria raer fórbá,  
 uad ní genpifeap<sup>28</sup>.”

Acup ní thuc a chuio eimnaó dó.

Iap rin ar beapre fri Feargus Luarcán:

“FEARĠUS, fear co n-imġloine<sup>29</sup>,  
 luaidéar a luarc leannmaib;

or Ui Feineachlais, who were seated along the sea to the north of the Ui Deaghaidh, and in the present barony of Arklow, in the county of Wicklow. This tribe is incorrectly called “Ui Ineachruis,” in all the copies of O'h-Uidhrin's topographical poem. The church of Inis Mocholmog belonged to this territory. See the *Feilire Aenghuis*, and the Irish Calendar of the O'Clerighs, at 14th November.

<sup>19</sup> *Inbhear Aimherghin*.—So called because this was the portion of the country which fell to the lot of Aimherghin, one of the sons of Milidh (Milesius), and the poet and judge of their expedition. This is more usually called Inbhear Mor. It was originally the estuary of the Abbainn Mhor (Avonmore), but it was afterwards, after a manner used elsewhere, applied to the town of Arklow, which, after the Danish and

"MY SEA, with its full produce,  
 To my sweet-spoken Breasal;  
 Take thou unto thee the Inbhear of Aimherghin<sup>b</sup>,  
 According to the possession of the ancient division:  
 Free men, and of long duration,  
 [Shall descend] from thee; afterwards shall arise  
 Princes who shall destroy his last chieftainship  
 For the crime of the arm of an unjust man;  
 And though it shall return again,  
 It shall not be a happy possession  
 Because it shall be liable to oppression."

And he gave to him six ships<sup>1</sup> and six coats of mail and six tunics  
 and six shields and six steeds; and he gave him his own six oxen with  
 all their appointments.

And he said to Ceatach<sup>a</sup>:

"MY LANDS external [to my mensal lands]  
 [I give] to my beloved Ceatach;  
 It will be a violent destruction to thy brotherhood;  
 Though thou wilt be for a time in possession of a free inheritance,  
 From thee none shall be begotten."

And he did not give his testamentary portion to him.  
 Then he said to Fearghus Luascan;

"FEARGHUS, a man of purity,  
 He speaks of his infantine rockings;

English invasions, became the principal  
 fortress of Ui Eineach-ghlais. According  
 to O'h-Uidrin's topographical poem,  
 "O'Fiachra" was the chief of this tribe  
 after the establishment of surnames.

<sup>1</sup> Six ships, &c.—O'Flaherty says that  
 "Cathir" gave "Breasal Enachlas" five  
 ships of burden, fifty bossed shields, su-  
 perbly inlaid with silver and gold round  
 the edges, five golden-hilted swords, and

five chariots with their horses. This is a  
 further proof that the document consulted  
 by O'Flaherty was totally different from  
 any of the copies now known to exist.

<sup>a</sup> Ceatach.—This is probably the Cea-  
 tach after whom the barony of Ui Ceataigh  
 (Ikeathy), in the north of Kildare, received  
 its name. The *criocha seachtar* were the  
 lands which were not mensal, or parcel of  
 the king's inheritance or succession.

ní fíl lim do thionocol,  
 ár ní maenach<sup>30</sup> nach macaemda;  
 aet má theagtha dno arpað  
 talman, talam triun, iareain,  
 nimdam deimneach oithoeán  
 do'n fíor luaidéar luarc."

Acup ní thuc ní dó.

Ar beart iapañ fíor Crimthannan:

"CRIMTHANN, mo chup cluitheoáir<sup>31</sup>;  
 glar fíor lunu lean-maíð;  
 geður iathu ainothéanna;  
 ní oil leam a dán maí<sup>32</sup>;  
 ní ba coimríg adúra  
 aet má thecma aen.

1. Colam mac Crimthann.

Acup do pad dó fecht n-eich acup ré cuipn acup ré maclu acup  
 ré dam co lín a (b)-fualair<sup>33</sup>.

Aengur Nic dno mac do roinib. Cathair tria mērci rí a<sup>34</sup> ingin  
 1. fíor Mucóna ingin Cathair, ír fíor a<sup>35</sup> beart Cathair:

"NICC, nimtha reilb raep<sup>36</sup> fopba  
 do mac Mucóna mīchir,  
 ár a' mēad ír mīnair<sup>37</sup>  
 túirnead clano fíor coibdelchu.  
 ír fearr écaib athair<sup>38</sup>;  
 olc buanóu<sup>39</sup>g bēo."

Acup ní thuc ní dó.

[Aengur] ad beart iap fíor fíor h-Eochaid Tíme:

<sup>1</sup> *Except one*, i. e. *Colam mac Crimthann*.—It will be remarked that "*Colam mac Crimthann*" is here a mere *scholium*. It is not in B. at all. According to the *Feilire Aenguis*, and the *Calendar and Genealogies of the Irish Saints*, compiled by the O'Clerighs, he was abbot of Tír Da Ghlais

("Terryglass," near the Shannon, in Lower Ormond, Tipperary), where his festival was celebrated on the 18th of December. The O'Clerighs remark that he was really the son of Nimidh, who was the fifth in descent from Crimthann, the son of Cathair Mer. He should therefore have been called



I have naught to present,  
 For every youth cannot be wealthy;  
 But if we happen to have possession  
 Of land, powerful land, hereafter,  
 I am not certain but I may give leavings [a rémnant]  
 To the man who talks rockingly (at random)."

And he did not give anything to him.  
 He said then to Criomhthann:

"CRIOMHTHANN, my boyish hero;  
 He is a lock upon the blackbirds of the meadows;  
 He shall conquer weak territories;  
 I love not his profession of fame;  
 There will not be [any of his race] worthy of veneration  
 Except one! [who] shall prove [so].

i. e. Colam mac Criomhthainn.

And he gave him seven steeds<sup>m</sup> and six drinking-horns and six mat-  
 tals and six oxen with their full appointments.

Aenghus Nic, too, a son that Cathaeir begat in his drunkenness,  
 by his daughter, i. e. Muchna, daughter of Cathaeir, to him Cathaeir  
 said:

"NIC, there shall not be possession of free land  
 With the son of hapless Muchna,  
 Because of the greatness of the disgrace  
 Of begetting children by relatives.  
 Better is the death of a disgrace;  
 Ill is the continuing of infamy."

And he did not give anything to him.  
 And he said then to Rochaidh Timine:

Colam Ua Crimhthainn. He died in the  
 year 552.

<sup>m</sup> *Seven steeds*.—O'Flaherty says that  
 "Cathir" gave this "Crimhthann" fifty  
 hurling balls made of brass, with an equal  
 number of brazen hurlets, ten pair of tables

of elegant construction, two chess-boards  
 with their chess-men distinguished with  
 their spots and power, on which account  
 he was constituted master of the games in  
 Leinster, but the Editor has not found any  
 original Irish authority for this.

“mo eochaid<sup>o</sup> timine,  
 t<sup>o</sup>réit<sup>h</sup> f<sup>er</sup>, ní t<sup>ir</sup> cheaglamar;<sup>o</sup>  
 ní t<sup>reoin</sup>“ ó éir chuipgeboaid;  
 níob a<sup>reapm</sup>ar<sup>o</sup> oll f<sup>ine</sup>;  
 ní ba dúrach beathraig<sup>i</sup>;  
 mo f<sup>aind</sup>, mo earcaine  
 reach a b<sup>r</sup>áit<sup>h</sup>ri[<sup>b</sup>] buam<sup>na</sup>[<sup>ra</sup>]  
 f<sup>air</sup>-f<sup>eor</sup>m co b<sup>r</sup>áth b<sup>iar</sup>.”

Acup ní thuc timna dó, acup ní<sup>o</sup> thairm<sup>ir</sup>e a b<sup>er</sup>it<sup>h</sup> i (b)-f<sup>ail</sup>  
 a b<sup>r</sup>áit<sup>h</sup>reach<sup>o</sup> am<sup>ail</sup> chocart.

Al<sup>o</sup> be<sup>re</sup> ono f<sup>ri</sup> h-<sup>ail</sup>ill Céabach mac Catha<sup>ir</sup>:

“OILILL, oll f<sup>ear</sup> i<sup>o</sup> f<sup>el</sup>ba<sup>id</sup>  
 f<sup>ear</sup> m<sup>aid</sup>, f<sup>ear</sup> b<sup>r</sup>úda<sup>id</sup>,  
 ní ba f<sup>uar</sup> do ráth<sup>o</sup>;  
 f<sup>ear</sup> f<sup>or</sup>a<sup>id</sup> f<sup>ri</sup> f<sup>ich</sup>thillá<sup>ct</sup>  
 u<sup>ar</sup> ró m<sup>air</sup>b<sup>id</sup> ra<sup>ct</sup>.”

Do r<sup>ao</sup> ano f<sup>in</sup> a f<sup>ich</sup>éill co n-a f<sup>ic</sup>éillach<sup>e</sup> do <sup>ail</sup>ill Céabac.  
 Do l<sup>uid</sup> ono F<sup>ia</sup>cha F<sup>a</sup><sup>o</sup> h-<sup>ail</sup>id a dochum a atha<sup>ir</sup><sup>o</sup>, acup ba  
 ré f<sup>or</sup>ar a m<sup>ac</sup> acup ar be<sup>re</sup> f<sup>ri</sup>:

“NIMTHASA NÍ do b<sup>ear</sup>ar la<sup>e</sup> ac<sup>t</sup> mo b<sup>ear</sup>na<sup>ct</sup> acup má  
 b<sup>éir</sup> i n-aic<sup>i</sup> ca<sup>t</sup> b<sup>r</sup>áthar dúit co m-ba<sup>id</sup> f<sup>éir</sup>reach.”

C<sup>ir</sup>id in g<sup>illa</sup> [F<sup>ia</sup>co] f<sup>ia</sup>ó a atha<sup>ir</sup>; ar be<sup>re</sup> i<sup>ar</sup>m<sup>ail</sup> [a atha<sup>ir</sup> i.]  
 Catha<sup>ir</sup> f<sup>ri</sup>.

“F<sup>AEI</sup> m<sup>is</sup> la cach m-b<sup>r</sup>áthar dúit acup f<sup>ai</sup> f<sup>ear</sup>che  
 m-b<sup>lia</sup>óna la R<sup>or</sup>a<sup>o</sup> F<sup>ail</sup>gi mac Catha<sup>ir</sup>. Dia nam t<sup>or</sup>pach<sup>e</sup> do  
 b<sup>ear</sup>na<sup>ct</sup> i r<sup>on</sup> f<sup>el</sup>bi do g<sup>ri</sup>p<sup>in</sup>ó<sup>o</sup> and f<sup>in</sup>.”

Cona<sup>id</sup> and ar be<sup>re</sup> Catha<sup>ir</sup>:

“SRUITH in f<sup>or</sup>ar f<sup>or</sup>neam<sup>ail</sup>,  
 F<sup>ia</sup>cha f<sup>ear</sup> a n-ilcéabai<sup>o</sup>,”

<sup>o</sup> As a cogart.—As a servant or villanus.  
 See on the cogarts of Leinster, *infra*, p. 219.

<sup>o</sup> Oilioll Ceadach.—He was the ances-

tor of a sept seated in a territory called  
 Cricoch na g-Ceadach, in the north-east of  
 the King's County.

"MY EOCHAIDH TIMINE,  
 Weak man, it is not land he will acquire;  
 It is not brave men from countries he will expel;  
 From him will not descend a great tribe;  
 He shall not be a man of lowing herds;  
 My weakness, my curse [or foolishness]  
 Beyond his enduring brothers  
 Upon him for ever shall be."

And he gave him no testamentary [share]; but he forbade him not to live with his brothers as a cogart<sup>a</sup> (steward).

He said to Oilioll Ceadach<sup>o</sup>, the son of Cathaeir:

"OILIOLL, a great man in the possession  
 Of old plains of old brughaidhs [farmers];  
 Noble shall not be thy rath [abode];  
 A man intelligent in chess playing,  
 [Who shall rule] over many prosperous plains."

And he gave his chess-board and his fithcheallacht<sup>p</sup> (chess furniture) to Oilioll Ceadach.

Then Fiacha Ba h-Aicidh went to his father, and he was the youngest of his sons, and the father said to him:

"I HAVE NOT AUGHT that thou couldst take with thee but my blessing and that thou abide with each of thy brethren till thou art of maturity."

The youth Fiacha wept in the presence of his father; his father, i. e. Cathaeir, then said unto him:

"ABIDE A MONTH with each of thy brothers, and abide seven years with Ros Failghe the son of Cathaeir. If, then, thou retain the blessing I would ensure to thee prosperity of possessions."

And then Cathaeir said:

"A CHIEF shall the prosperous junior be,  
 Fiacha a man of many hundreds [of cattle];

<sup>p</sup> His chess with his fithchilleacht.— fithchilleacht on Croomthann, not on O'Flaherty makes Cathair bestow the Oiliol Ceadach.

buaid-gean deapda bpuethair;  
 rognipeò a bráthair fine;  
 Aillinn árb co n-urgeba;  
 Carmon<sup>a</sup> cloéach cóimgebaib;  
 biaib ór Alimam airimíom<sup>a</sup>;  
 Nár amnícha neartairib;  
 luam Laópano co luthmairi<sup>a</sup>;  
 fear aithra ór Airgeas Ror;  
 iathu Ailb, oll-gebaib;  
 Liamain ór lip loingriúib;  
 triacha Teamra traircéarib;  
 aenach Taillean tormaibib;  
 cāch crích fó chipe choimāoir  
 pob lip buaib beannaetan  
 ar do íil co ruthame,  
 a h-Ui Fiacha airimíomib;  
 do chuio timna eapraoir  
 co roimneach, co rruith . . . . . SRUITH.

Ro bai peom uin<sup>a</sup> a (b)-fai a bráithreach<sup>a</sup> aithil ar beart  
 Cathair; conib de rin po lil Fiacha Fa h-Aicib<sup>a</sup> de ar a beith  
 a n-aicib a bráithreach; acur po bai la Ror mar rin reache

<sup>a</sup> *Aillinn*.—A celebrated fort of the kings of Leinster, the extensive remains of which are still to be seen on the hill of Cnoc Aillinne, near "Old Kilcullen," in the county of Kildare.

<sup>r</sup> *Carman*.—This was a seat of the kings of Leinster, and its site is occupied by the present town of Wexford; see p. 15, n. 9.

<sup>a</sup> *Almhain, Anglice* "Allen," a celebrated hill about five miles to the north of the town of Kildare; see p. 14, n. 1.

<sup>r</sup> *Nas*, another seat of the kings of Leinster, *Anglice* "Naas;" see p. 9, n. 9.

<sup>a</sup> *Ladhrann*, i. e. Ard-ladhrann. This was another fort of the kings of Leinster,

situate on the sea coast, in the territory of Ui Ceinseallaigh. See Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum, Vita S. Maidoci*, p. 210. "Et intravit portum in regione Hua-Kinselach in oppido quod dicitur Ard-lathrann." This place was known in the time of Colgan, who describes it as a place in the diocese of Ferns, and county of Wexford, called after Ladhrann, a soldier (and companion of the Antediluvian "Ceasair"), who was there interred. *Acta SS.* p. 217, note 22.

The editor could not find any place in the county of Wexford according with the notices of this place in the Life of St. Maidoc, except "Ardamine," on the sea coast,

The gifted man from the boiling Bearbha;  
 Him his brother-tribes shall serve;  
 The noble Aillinn<sup>q</sup> he will inhabit;  
 The famous Carman<sup>r</sup> he shall obtain;  
 He shall rule over the venerable Almhain<sup>s</sup>;  
 The impregnable Nas<sup>t</sup> he shall strengthen;  
 The active pilot of Ladrhann<sup>u</sup>;  
 An illustrious man over Airgead Ros<sup>v</sup>;  
 The lands of Ailbhe<sup>w</sup> he shall mightily obtain;  
 Liamhain<sup>x</sup>, over the sea, he shall pilot;  
 The chiefs of Teamhair he shall prostrate;  
 The fair of Taillte he shall magnify;  
 Every country under the control of his justice [he will bring];  
 Numerous will be the gifts of the blessing  
 On thy seed for ever,  
 Thou grandson of Fiacha the venerable;  
 Thy testamentary portion thou hast received  
 Happily, like a chieftain. . . . . A CHIEF.

He abode then with his brothers, as Cathaeir had ordered, and hence the name of Fiacha Ba h-Aicidh adhered to him for living on his brothers. And he remained seven years with Roe in that manner; and it

in the barony of "Ballaghkeen," where there is a remarkable moat, level at top, and measuring about eighty links in diameter. See the Annals of the Four Masters, *ad ann. mund.* 2242, 3519, and Haliday's Edition of Keating's History of Ireland, pp. 150, 318; D. Mac Firlisigh's Genealogical work (Marquis of Drogheda's copy) pp. 23, 185, 240, where it is stated that the tribe of Cineal Cobhthaigh were seated at Ard Ladrhann; and see O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. cc. 1 and 19.

<sup>v</sup> *Airgead Ros*.—A district on the River Feoir (An Fheoir, *Anglicè* the Nore) in Ui Duach, where Eireamhon (Heremon), the

ancestor of the Laighnigh (Lagenians), or Leinster race of princes, is said to have erected a fort called Rath Beatha. See Haliday's edition of Keating's History of Ireland, pp. 306, 308, 310, 318, 328, 334, 346; and O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 19. This fort is now called "Rath-veagh." See Tighe's Statistical Account of the County of Kilkenny.

<sup>w</sup> *Ailbhe*.—An extensive plain in the present county of Kildare. See Magh Ailbhe, p. 16, note <sup>q</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>x</sup> *Liamhain*.—This is put for Laighin, as appears from the copy in the Book of Ballymote. See p. 228, n. <sup>m</sup>, *infra*.

m-bliadna, conio lair po goð armo acur conio ó ísl Ruir oligeat  
cach<sup>61</sup> fear do ísl fíachach céao-gháil 'n-airm<sup>62</sup>.

Do luio Cathair poire co Taillte acur do ber cath Tailltean  
co torchair<sup>63</sup> and rin la Féin Luaidne<sup>64</sup>.

Dá mac din<sup>65</sup> Feidlimíó Fír Up-glair .i. Maine Mál<sup>66</sup> in rindreap  
acur Cathair in porar; unde<sup>67</sup> Luðair lán-íli [dixit .i.] :

Orar eircloir, orsan, áin, [.i. rine Maine, B. *inter lines.*]  
nír bo tháir rú<sup>68</sup> forpla fear;  
fácbao Cathair, cono cach t-íluair,  
la Luairne thuió a Muirg ðreğ.

Conao do oligeat acur do thuarireol cloimoi na mac rin ab  
beare [in íal buada] ðenén ann po:

CÉART<sup>69</sup> níg Luirgean po luaid ðenén,  
a m-breith údair [f]uarireair,  
i n-á<sup>70</sup> n-oligeno níg cach thuarich,  
eria thuarich lin a thuarireol<sup>71</sup>.

Án epáth nach pí o' Eirind uili  
áirio-níg Luirgean lino uaine,  
leir torach in cach thír epéin eing  
ó níg Eirind [f]ind (f)uarie.

Deich moðar do laech-pí Luirgean,  
deich (g)-coin t-íolma, íúileacha,  
deich íeingi for íuibreat tonoa,  
deich longa, deich lúipeacha.

Tricha pálach, caeca claidéam,  
céat n-each n-dónd, deich n-dín ðpataib,  
caeca cochall, nír bað path buið<sup>72</sup>,  
deich path<sup>73</sup> chuipn, deich níg-matail.

Sé cuipn, ré páilgi o'[U]ib Faeláin,  
ré leanna ar in laear rin<sup>74</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> *Taillte*, now absurdly Anglicized  
"Teltown," midway between "Kells" and

"Navan." "Teltown" is taken from the  
oblique cases, *Tailltean*, &c. B. of Magh

was from him he took arms, and it is from the descendants of Ros that every man of his descendants is bound to receive his first arms.

Cathaeir afterwards went to Taillte<sup>r</sup>, and he fought the battle of Taillte, and he was killed there by the Fian of Luaighne.

Feidhlimidh Fir Urghlais had two sons, namely, Maine Mal, the senior, and Cathaeir [Mor], the junior; whence Lughair the full poet said:

A famous, illustrious, honorable junior,  
He was not despicable among the choicest men;  
Cathaeir, the prop of each host, was killed  
By the Luaighne, in the north, in Magh Breagh.

And it is of the rights and stipends of the descendants of those sons Benean the gifted sage spoke here:

THE RIGHT of the king of Laighin [Leinster] Benean related,  
In the decision of an author he found it,  
What the king of each territory is entitled to, [and],  
Throughout his country, the number of his stipends.

When not king of all Eire  
Is the supreme king of Laighin of green waters,  
To take the van in going into every country of strong frontier  
From the king of temperate Eire. [is his [privilege]

Ten bondmen to the heroic king of Laighin,  
Ten fleet, quick-eyed hounds,  
Ten scings<sup>a</sup> over which the waves glide,  
Ten ships, ten coats of mail.

Thirty rings, fifty swords,  
A hundred bay steeds, ten sheltering cloaks,  
Fifty cowls, not a common stipend,  
Ten choice drinking-horns, ten royal matals.

Six drinking-horns, six rings to the Ui Faelain<sup>a</sup>,  
Six mantles on that same time,

Rath, p. 108, n. b. *Luaighne*.—See p. 86, n. l.

<sup>a</sup>*Scings*.—See p. 70, n. l, but the meaning

"trappings" does not seem applicable here.

<sup>a</sup> *Ui Faelain*.—This was the name of a

ré h-eith luatha co n-a laithrib;  
 gíar báigtheip, níp bráthairp.

Céu n-each uad-rom do ehuic Thomair,  
 céu m-bó ar éuilleam<sup>7</sup> tuairteail,  
 triá ban ré méo ip muirpear,  
 céad claidéam, ip cruad arcaio.

Ocht longa ó'n laech<sup>8</sup> do flaithe Chualano,  
 co feolaib co feol [rúol B.] brataib,  
 ocht (g)-cuipn, ocht (g)-claidim co cinaio<sup>9</sup>,  
 oet n-uair, ocht n-ór matail.

Seacht rcéith, reacht n-eich do rig Forphuath  
 iap n-ól fína airio<sup>10</sup>,  
 reacht (g)-cuipn co n-a mió do'n maipig,  
 reacht (g)-claidim 'n-a (g)-caipioib.

Sé h-uair do rig an Inobep,  
 ré boim luatha, léimneca<sup>11</sup>,

tribe and territory containing about the northern half of the present county of Kildare. It comprised the baronies of "Clane" and "Salt," and the greater part, if not the entire, of those of "Ikeathy" and "Oughteranny." The town of Nas (Naas), and the churches of Claenadh (Clane), Laithreach Bruin (Laraghbrine, near "Maynooth"), Domnach mor Muighe Luadhat (Donaghmore), Cluain Conaire (Cloncurry); and Fiodh Chuillinn (Feighcullen), were in it. See the *Feilire Aenghuis*, and the Irish Calendar of the O'Clerighs, at 18th May, 8th June, 8th August, 2nd and 16th of September, and 27th of October. After the establishment of surnames the chiefs of this territory took that of Mac Faelain, and soon after that of O'Brain (*Anglicè* O'Byrne), but they were driven

from this level and fertile territory, about the year 1202, by Meyler Fitz-Henry and his followers, when they retired into the mountains of Wicklow, where they acquired new settlements for themselves, and in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth they were possessed of more than the southern half of the present county of Wicklow. See the Editor's translation of the second part of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, p. 137, note <sup>5</sup>, and page 246, note <sup>1</sup>, where authorities are quoted which prove the Ui Faelain, *Anglicè* "Offelan," the original country of the Ui Brain (O'Byrnes), comprised the five northern baronies of the present county of Kildare, and that it was bounded on the north by Deise Teamhrach, on the west by Ui Failghe, on the north-east by Ui Dunchada, and on the south by Ui Muireadh-



Six swift steeds with their caparisons;  
Though it is promised, it is not for brotherhood.

A hundred steeds from him to the Prince Tomar<sup>b</sup>,  
A hundred cows as additional wages,  
Thirty women of size and with offspring,  
A hundred swords, it is a severe tribute.

Eight ships from the hero to the lord of Cualann<sup>c</sup>,  
With sails [and] with astin flags (banners),  
Eight drinking-horns, eight keen-edged swords,  
Eight tunics, eight gold [embroidered] matals.

Seven shields, seven steeds to the king of the Forthuatha<sup>d</sup>  
After drinking certain wine,  
Seven drinking-horns with their mead to the mariner,  
Seven swords in their scabbards.

Six tunics to the king of the Inbhear<sup>e</sup>,  
Six oxen, swift, bounding,

aigh. *Angáed* "Omurethi," O'Tuathail's (O'Toole's) original territory.

<sup>b</sup> *Prince Tomar*, i. e. king of Dublin.

See the Introduction; and p. 40, n. ".

<sup>c</sup> *Cualann*.—See p. 18, note <sup>b</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>d</sup> *Forthuatha*, i. e. the stranger tribe. It appears from an old life of St. Caemhghin (Kevin), quoted by Ussher in his *Primordia*, p. 956, and by the Bollandists, that the church of *Gleann Da Loch*, i. e. *Vallis duorum stagnorum* (Glendalough), was in this territory. This shows that it was an *alias* name for Ui Mail, as, according to a note in the *Féilire Aenghuís* and the Irish Calendar of the O'Flerighs, at 7th October, Ui Mail is the name of the territory in which *Gleann Da Loch* is situated. Ui Mail (Imaile) is a well-known territory in the barony of Upper Talbotstown, in the

county of Wicklow, in which the family of O'Tuathail (O'Toole) settled after their expulsion from their original territory of Ui Muireadhaigh in the now county of Kildare, by the Baron Walter de Riddlesford. See the Editor's translation of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, page 51, n. <sup>c</sup>, and page 664, note <sup>2</sup>; also the published Inquisitions, "*Lagenia*," Wicklow, 6, Jac. I., 8 Car. I. Domhnall Mac Faelainn, king of Forthuatha Laighean, was slain in the battle of Cluain Tarbh (Clontarf) according to the *Annals of Ulster*.

<sup>e</sup> *Inbhear*, i. e. of Inbhear Mor (Arklow). The territory of the Inbhear (originally the estuary merely) was the country of the Ui Eineach-ghlais, which comprised the present barony of Arklow, in the county of Wicklow. See page 196, note <sup>b</sup>, *suprà*.

ré lúipeacha acur ré longa,  
ré h-eich donna, déinneá.

Seacht n-eich d'Uíbh Feilmeáda Fínoa,  
fir díana co neamhairgí,  
cóic cuinn áma la cóic brataib,  
cóic matail, cia mebhaidí.

Cé m-bó d'[U]íbh Cenbrealarg calma  
céad n-each ar éuach éomairghear,  
beich longa, beich rrén, beich raible,  
beich (b)-ráilgí nach<sup>m</sup> polairghear.

<sup>1</sup> *Uí Feilmeadha*, i. e. the descendants of Feilimídh, son of Eanna Ceinnsealach, king of Laighin (Leinster) in the fourth century. There were two tribes of this name in Leinster, the one called *Uí Feilmeadha Tuaidh*, i. e. North *Uí Feilmeadha*, who were seated in the present barony of "Rathvilly," in the county of Carlow, and from whom the present town of "Tullow," in that barony, was anciently called Tulaigh O'Feilmeadha, *Anglicè* Tullow-Offelimity.— See Keating's History of Ireland, in the reign of Niall Naei-ghiallach. After the establishment of surnames, the chief family of this tribe took the surnames of O'h-Oncon, a name now unknown, and O'Gairbheth (Garvey). The other tribe was called *Uí Feilmeadha Teas* or *Deas*, i. e. South *Uí Feilmeadha*, and was seated in the present barony of "Ballaghkeen" in the east of the county of Wexford. After the establishment of surnames the chief family of this tribe took that of O'Murchadha, *Anglicè*, formerly, "O'Murroughoe," now "Murphy," and the family multiplied so much that this is now the most numerous of all the ancient Irish tribes, not only in their own territory, still called the

"Murroughs" or "Murroes," but all over Leinster and Munster. See O h-Uidhrin's topographical poem, and the Book of Leinster, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, Hen. II. 18, fol. 247. In the year 1684, the head of the South *Uí Feilmeadha* was Connall O'Murchadha (son of Art, son of Domhnall Mor, son of Art, son of Tadhg). He died in this year, and was buried at Castle Ellis. He had five sons, of whom Tadhg was the eldest. There was another respectable branch of this family seated at *Cíoball-ghort lár* (Oulartleigh) in the same district, who retained their property till very recently.

<sup>2</sup> *Uí Ceinnsealaigh*.—The people so called were the descendants of Eanna Ceinnsealach, who was the fourth in descent from Cathair, monarch of Ireland, and king of Laighin or Leinster, about the year 858. Their country originally comprised more than the present diocese of "Fernes," for we learn from the oldest Lives of St. Patrick, that Domhnach Mor, near Sleibhte (Sletty, Sleaty, &c.), in the present county of Carlow, was in it. In the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, quoted by Uísher (*Primordia*, page 863) it is

Six coats of mail and six ships,  
Six beautiful, bay steeds.

Seven steeds to the fair Ui Feilmeadhaf,  
Vehement men of venom,  
Five curved drinking-horns with five cloaks,  
Five matala, as it is remembered.

A hundred cows to the brave Ui Ceinnsealaigh<sup>a</sup>,  
A hundred steeds by which power is added to the territory,  
Ten ships, ten bridles, ten saddles<sup>b</sup>,  
Ten rings which are not to be concealed.

called the larger and more powerful part of Leinster: "Ordinavit S. Patricius de gente Lagenensium alium episcopum nomine Fyacha, virum religiosissimum: qui jussione beatissimi Patricii gentem Cean-selach ad fidem convertit et baptizavit."

The two clans of Ui Feilmeadha above referred to were of this race. After the establishment of surnames the principal family of this tribe took the surname of Mac Murchadha, *Anglice* "Mac Murrrough," which is now obsolete. The principal family of the race took the name of Mac Murchadha Caemhanaigh, *Anglice* "Mac Murrrough Kavanagh," now always shortened to "Kavanagh," without any prefix. They descend from Domhnall Caemh-anach, who, according to Giraldus, and the historical poem in Norman French on the invasion of Ireland, *tempore* Henry II., and a pedigree of the Kavanaghs in a MS. at Lambeth Palace, was an illegitimate son of Diarmaid, Dermotus Murchardides, (Dermot), king of Leinster, the first that brought the English into Ireland. From Eanna, another illegitimate son of this king, the family of "Kinsellaghs," now so numerous in Leinster, are descended. The

other families of the race were Mac Daibhidh Mor, *Anglice* Mac Davy More, or Mac Damore, seated in the barony of "Gorey," in the north-east of the county of Wexford, who were descended from Murchadh na n-Gaedhall, the brother of Diarmaid na n-Gall, and Mac Uadog, *Anglice* "Mac Vaddock," and now "Maddock," who descends from Uadog, the fourth in descent from the same Murchadh. The pedigrees of these septa are given by Dubh. Mac Firsigh in his genealogical work (Lord Roden's copy), p. 473, and by Cucoierigh O'Clerigh (Peregrine O'Clery) in his genealogical compilation, now preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, p. 82, and also in a MS. in the Carew Collection in the Library at Lambeth Palace, No. 685, fol. 40, 41, *et sequen.*

<sup>b</sup> *Saddles, gabairt.*—We have no means of determining what kind of saddles these were. The present Irish word for saddle is *brallao*, which seems cognate with the Welsh word *dilhad*, apparel. Spenser asserts, in his "View of the State of Ireland," that the Irish rode without a stirrup. It is said in the *Histoire du Roy d'Angleterre Richard*, recently printed in the

Deich (ḡ)-ráilgí arinn do pí Raileann<sup>83</sup>

í[r] ré níḡ-eich nínnígrí,

ré matail arcae do'n cúpaib,

ré moḡaib do'n mílíg rín<sup>84</sup>.

Ocht (ḡ)-claidib, ocht (ḡ)-cuirp rí cómól

ó níḡ Capman corḡaḡaḡ<sup>85</sup>,

ocht n-eich cean each díb ar vpoḡ-fole,

do pí Foḡart<sup>86</sup> Opn[ab]aḡ.

twentieth volume of the *Archæologia*, with translation and notes, by the Rev. J. Webb, that Mac Murrough of Leinster was mounted upon a horse which cost four hundred cows, but *without a saddle*.

<sup>1</sup> *Raivilinn*.—This was the name of a remarkable fort on the hill of Mullach Raileann, *Anglice* "Mullaghreeion," in the county of Kildare, about five miles to the south-east of Athy. This fort is called Raieirend in the *Leabhar Dimscanchuis*, which places it in the country of Uí Muireadhaigh, called by Cambrensis "Omurethi," which is still the name of a deanery in the county of Kildare. By "Rígh Raileann," in the text, is certainly meant Rígh Ua Muireadhaigh, i. e. king of "Omurethi," a territory comprising about the southern half of the present county of Kildare, namely, the baronies of "Kilkea and Moone," "Naragh and Rheban," and a part of the barony of "Connell." It was bounded on the north by the celebrated hill of Aillín (Allen), see page 202, note<sup>1</sup>, *supra*; on the north-west by Uí Failghe, *Anglice* "Offaly," which it adjoined at the Cuirreach (Curragh) of Kildare, see page 216, note<sup>1</sup>, *infra*; and on the west by Læighis, *Anglice* "Leix," from which it was divided by the River Bearbha, *Anglice* Barrow. The deanery of "Omurethi," which preserves

the name of this territory, comprises the following parishes, according to the *Liber Regalis Visitationis* of 1615, viz.: "Athy, Castlereban, Kilberry, Dollardstown, Nicholastown, Tankardstown, Kilkea, Grange-Rosnolvan, Belin [Beithlinn], Castledermott, Grange, Moone, Timoling, Nárraghamore, Kilcullen, Usk." And the same record adds: "Adjacent to the deanery of Omurethie is the parish church of Darnenoge [Dunamanogue] and the parish church of Fontstown." From this the glaring error of Ledwich (*Antiquities*, 2nd ed. p. 294), appears, who states that the Omurethi of Giraldus was the country of the O'Moores.

Soon after the death of the celebrated Saint Lorcán O'Tuathail, *Anglice* Laurence O'Toole, the family of the Uí Tuathail (O'Tooles) were driven from this level and fertile district by the great Baron Walter de Riddlesford, or Gualterus de Ridenesfordia, who, according to Giraldus (*Hibernia Expugnata*, lib. ii. c. 21), had his castle at "Tristerdermott," (now "Castledermott"), in the territory of "Omurethi." Dr. Lanigan, in his *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, vol. iv. p. 174, and Mr. Moore, in his *History of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 808, and all subsequent writers, state that Muircheartach O'Tuathail, the father of St. Lorcán O'Tuathail (Laurence O'Toole), was

Ten carved rings to the king of Raecilinn<sup>i</sup>

And six royal steeds, I reckon,

Six matals in the same way to the champion,

Six bondmen to that hero.

Eight swords, eight horns for drinking

From the king of defensive Carman,

Eight steeds of which not one has a bad mane,

To the king of Fothart Osnadhaigh<sup>l</sup>.

prince of "Imaile," but this is a great mistake; for Ui Mail (Imaile), into which the tribe of O'Tuathail migrated, had been before the English invasion the patrimonial inheritance of the family of O'Tadhg, *Anglicè*, formerly, O'Teige, now Tighe. Equally erroneous is the statement in the Life of "St. Laurence," published by Messingham in his *Florilegium*, that St. Laurence's father was king of all Leinster; for we know from the best authorities, that, though he was of the royal family of Leinster, and next in superiority of that province, he never became king of it.

1 *Fothart Osnadhaigh*, now the barony of Fotharta, *Anglicè* "Forth," in the county of Carlow. The people called Fotharta were, according to the Irish genealogists, the descendants of Eochadh Finn Fuathart (the brother of the monarch Conn of the Hundred Battles) who, being banished from Midhe (Meath) by his nephew Art, monarch of Ireland, settled in Laighin (Leinster) where his descendants acquired considerable territories, of which the barony of "Forth," in the county of Carlow, and the better known barony of the same name in the county of Wexford, still preserve the name. The former is called Fotharta Osnadhaigh in the text, from Cill Osnadha, now corruptly "Kallistown," one of its principal

churches, but more frequently "Fotharta Fea," from the plain of Magh Fea, in which this church is situate. See Book of Baile an Mhuta, fol. 77, b., and Keating's History of Ireland, reign of Oilioll Molt, where it is stated that Cill Osnadha is situate in the plain of Magh Fea, four (Irish) miles to the east of Leith-ghlinn (Leighlin), in the county of Carlow. After the establishment of surnames the chief family of Fotharta Fea, or Fotharta Osnadhaigh, took the surname of O'Nuallain, *Anglicè*, formerly, O'Nolan, now Nowlan, and from him this barony has been not unusually called "Forth O'Nolan." See the published Inquisitions, *Lagenia*, 14, 16 Car. I. Grace's Annals of Ireland, edited by the Rev. Richard Butler, p. 99, *et passim*. O'Flaherty states in his *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 64, that the posterity of Eochaidh Finn Fothart were chiefs of this territory till the death of O'Nuallan, the last proprietor, who died a short time before he was writing. The chief family of the Fotharta, in the county of Wexford, commonly called Fothart an Ohairn (Carnsore point), took the name of O'Lorcain, *Anglicè* "Larkin," but they were dispossessed shortly after the English invasion. The family is, however, still numerous in Leinster. See further as to these districts, page 221, note 7, *infra*.

Ocht n-eich b'[U]ib Drona a Cno Gabra<sup>a</sup>  
 a glaic riḡ co na solas,  
 ocht (ḡ)-coin pé cōp áir ap moigib<sup>ae</sup>,  
 ocht (ḡ)-claidiū pé cachtúgus<sup>ae</sup>.

Ocht n-eich b'[U]ib Dairrchu ap a m-beodacht,  
 ba beag b'fir a [n]-eangnaíra,  
 ocht (ḡ)-cuir, ocht mná, níor mugair,  
 ir ocht moḡaib mean, map<sup>ae</sup>.

Ocht n-eich b'Uib Duib na m-bríathar,  
 borba, bláithi, bir-cheansa,

<sup>a</sup> *Ui Drona*, i. e. *nepotes Dronai*.—These descend from Drona, the fourth in descent from Cathaer Mor. They possessed the entire of the present barony of "Idrone," in the county of Carlow, and that part of the diocese of "Kildare and Leighlin," lying on the west side of the River Barrow, near the town of "Graigue-namanagh." The church of Erard or Urard, now called "Ullard," on the west side of the Barrow, was in it. See the Irish Calendar of the O'Clerighs, at 2nd May, 18th August, 11th October, and 8th November; and the *Feilire Aenghuis*, at 8th February, 29th May, 18th August, 5th September, 11th and 12th October, and 8th November. After the establishment of surnames the chief family of this tribe took the surname of O'Riain, *Anglicè* "Ryan," and retained considerable property in this barony, till the Revolution in 1688, as appears from the published inquisitions, *Lagenia*, 9, 40 Car. I. They are still very numerous in this territory, and throughout Leinster, but they are to be distinguished from the family of O'Maeilriain (O'Mulrians or Ryans), of Tipperary, who are of a different race, though of Leinster too. See a curious ac-

count of this family in Ryan's History of the County of Carlow, *Appendix*.

<sup>i</sup> *Ceanu Gabhra*, i. e. head of the horse. This name, which was evidently that of some remarkable hill in "Idrone," is unknown to the Editor.

<sup>ae</sup> *Ui Bairrche*.—This tribe descended from Daire Barrach, the second son of the monarch Cathaer Mor, and possessed the barony of "Sljevemargy," in the Queen's County, and other tracts in that neighbourhood. They were seated between the Ui Drona and Ui Muiredhaigh; and the churches of Mughna h-Ealchainn (Ballyghmoon), and Gleann Uissen (Killushin), near the town of Carlow, were in it. See Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum*, pp. 417, 418; and *Feilire Aenghuis*, at 27th February, 4th April, 8th July, 20th October; and the Irish Calendar of the O'Clerighs, at 8th July. O h-Uidhrin places them on the west side of the River Barrow. D. Mac Firisigh, in his pedigree of the Ui Bairrche (Marquis of Drogheda's copy), p. 897, states that the district extending from Ath Truistean, a ford on the river "Greece," near the hill of Mullach Maistean (Mullaghmast) six miles to the east of Athy, in the

Eight steeds to the Ui Drona\* of Ceann Gabhra'  
 From the hand of the king with good profit,  
 Eight hounds for making slaughter on the plains,  
 Eight swords for battling.

Eight steeds to the Ui Bairrche<sup>m</sup> for their vigor,  
 'Twas but small for a man of his (their chieftain's) prowess,  
 Eight drinking-horns, eight women, not slaves,  
 And eight bondmen, brave [and] large.

Eight steeds to the Ui Buidhe<sup>n</sup> of words,  
 Fierce, beautiful, fine-headed,

county of Kildare, to the ford at Cill Corb-natan, belonged to this sept, and that there were families of the race seated at Chuain Conaire (Cloncurry), Ceall Ausaille (Killossy), in the county of Kildare; and three families at Cill ("Kill," near Naas), namely, O'Laidhgheinn, O'Caise, and O'Duibhchilline; and one family, namely O'Mathaidh, in the territory of Ui Eineach-ghlais Muighe. After the establishment of surnames the chief family took the name of "O'Gorman," or "Mac Gorman;" but they were driven out of their original territory, shortly after the English invasion, by the Baron Walter de Riddlesford, who became master of all the territory about Carlow. After this period they disappear from the Irish Annals for some centuries; but a curious account of their dispersion and settlement in Munster is given by Maelin Og Mac Bruaideadha (Mac Brody), who became chief poet of Ui Breacain and Ui Fearnmaic in 1568, in a poem on their genealogy, in which he states that they possessed the territories of Crioch O m-Bairrche and Crioch O m-Buidhe in Leinster, but, being driven from thence by the English, a party of them proceeded into Ulster and another into Uaithne (Owney,

in Tipperary), where they settled at a place called Doire Seinnliath, where they became very numerous. In process of time, however, they removed from this territory and settled under O'Briain (O'Brien) in Ui Breacain (Ibrickan), in the west of Tuath Mhumha (Thomond), where the poet states they had been supporting poets and feeding the poor for the last four hundred years. See O'Reilly's Irish Writers, p. 164. The name of this family is always written Mac Gormain in the Irish annals, and on all the old tombstones of the family in the county of Clare; but the late Chevalier Thomas O'Gorman, the compiler of the pedigree of Count O'Reilly, changed the prefix, because he found it O'Gormain in some poems, and all the higher branches of the family have adopted the same change. This family is to be distinguished from the "O'Gormans" of "Clonmacnoise," who took the surname of Mac Cuinn na m-Bocht.

\* *Ui Buidhe*.—The territory of this tribe is called Crioch O'Muighe [which is intended for Crioch Ua m-Buidhe] by O h-Uidhrin in his topographical poem, in which it is described as on the west side of the River

oligib a paino ó níg Gaibhí  
 epí fáilgí, epí fíchehilla.

Ocht n-eich oligeap laech ní Cai[gh]rí  
 ocht (g)-com íolma, íúileacha,

Bearbha (Barrow), which divides it from Ui Muireadhaigh. This helps us to fix its position; for we learn from the Life of St. "Abban" published by Colgan (*Acta Sanctorum*, xiii. p. 617, c. 25), that "Ceall Abbain" is in the territory of "Huamidhe," who, Colgan says in note 80, page 623, is "Huamudhe" in *Codice Salmaticensi*:

"Post hæc Sanctus Abbanus cum suis clericis fines Laginensium intravit, et venit in plebem Huathmarchy [Hua barchi in Cod. Sal.] et ipsa plebs honorificè recepit eum, et valdè gavisus est in ejus adventu. Et vir sanctus benedixit eam diligenter, et multis diversis languoribus ibi sanatis, et miraculis perpetratis, inde recessit in plebem Huamidhi [Huamudi in Cod. Sal.], ibique magnum monasterium construxit; et propter honorem ejus in eodem loco civitas ædificata est; et monasterium et civitas uno nomine Scotice vocantur Ceall Abbain, quod interpretatur Latine Cella Abbani."

The annotator of the *Feilire Aenghuis*, at 27th October, and the O'Clerighs, in their Irish Calendar, at 16th March, place Cill Abbain in Ui Muireadhaigh; but this is evidently a mistake for Ui Muighe, for we learn from O h-Uidhrin that the territories of Crioich O'Muighe and Crioich O m-Barrtha were on the west side of the Bearbha, and Ui Muireadhaigh on the east side of the same river, which formed the boundary between them; and the old church and parish of "Killabban," are on the west side of the river, in the barony of "Bally-adams" and Queen's County. From the

situation of Killabban and of Tullamoy [Tulac Uam-ðuibhe], and the old church near "Timahoe," in the same county, it is quite evident that the territory of Crioich O'm-Buidhe, or O'Muighe, is included in the present barony of Bally-adams. After the establishment of surnames the chief family of this territory took the surname of O'Caelluidhe (now "Kealy" and "Kelly"), but this name is to be distinguished from O'Ceallaigh, of which name there were two respectable families seated in the adjoining territories of Galline and Magh Druchtain.

° *The king of Gabhal*, i. e. the king of the province of Laighin or Leinster.—This is still the name of a river which flowed through a wood called Fídh Gaibhle (Feegile or Figila), in the parish of Cloonsast, barony of "Coolestown," King's Co. See the Ordnance map of the King's County, sheets 19, 27, 28. In the Book of Leinster, T. C. D., H. 2, 18, fol. 112, a., is quoted a poem of St. Bearchan, the patron saint of "Cloonsast," who states that the wood derived its name from the River Gabhal, and that the river is called Gabhal from the *gabhal*, fork, which it forms at the junction of Cluain Sasta and Cluain Mor. The river is now called Fídh Gaibhle, though the wood has disappeared.

° *Laeighis*.—A tribe giving name to a territory in the Queen's county, descended from Laeighseach Ceann-mhor, the son of Conall Cearnach, chief of the heroes of the Craebh Ruadh, or Red Branch, in Ulster in



Entitled are they to a dividend from the king of Gabhal<sup>o</sup>,  
To three rings, three chess-boards.

Eight steeds are due to the heroic king of Laeighis<sup>p</sup>,  
Eight fleet, quick-eyed hounds,

the first century. Lughaidh Laeighseach, the son of Laeighseach Ceann-mhor, obtained this territory from the king of Laighin (Leinster), in the reign of the monarch Feidhlimidh Reachtmhar, for the assistance which he afforded in expelling the men of Munster, who had seized upon Osraidhe and all the province as far as the ford of Ath Truistean, near the hill of Mullach Maistean (Mullaghmast). See Translation of the Annals of "Clonmacnoise," by Connell Mageoghagan, and Keating's History of Ireland, reign of Feidhlimidh Reachtmhar. This territory originally comprised the present baronies of "East and West Maryborough," "Stradbally," and "Cullenagh," in the Queen's County. The churches of Disert mic Cuillinn, Cluain Eidhneach, Cill Faelain, Menedroichet Eanach Truim (now Annatrim, in Upper Ossory), Cluain Fota, and Bochlunain, were in it. See the Irish Calendar of the O'Clerighs at 2nd January, 17th February, 16th September, 3rd and 29th November; and the *Feilire Aenghus*, at 2nd and 20th January, 21st February, 3rd March, 4th April, 11th, 12th, and 20th June, 23rd August, 16th Sept., 6th and 13th October, 3rd, 13th, and 20th November. And on the increasing power of the tribe they attached the territories of Crioich O m-Buidhe and Crioich O m-Bairrche, or the baronies of "Ballyadams," and "Slievemargy," so that modern Irish antiquaries have considered Laeighis ("Leix" or "Lesia") as co-extensive with the Queen's County. See

Ussher's *Primordia*, pp. 818, 943. This, however, is a great error, for the baronies of "Portnahinch," and "Tinnahinch," in that county, were a part of Ui Failghe (Offaly), before the reign of Philip and Mary. The barony of "Upper Ossory," except a small portion at Annatrim, near Mountrath, belonged to the ancient kingdom of Osraidhe (Ossory), and the baronies of "Ballyadams" and "Slievemargy" were not originally a part of Laeighis, but belonged to families of the race of the Leinster Irish monarch Cathaer Mor. Dr. O'Connor mistakes the situation of this territory altogether. See *Annales Tighearnachi*, p. 96, where he writes: "Lagisia sita erat ad occidentalem Liffiei marginem, eratque posterioribus sæculis regio familiæ nobilis O'More." After the establishment of surnames the chief family of Laeighis took the surname of O'Mordha (now called O'More, Moore, &c.) from Mordha (*Majesticus*), the twenty-fifth in descent from Conall Cearnach, and this name is now very numerous in Leinster. Garrett Moore, Esq., of Cloghan Castle, in the King's County, is supposed to be of this race, but no evidence has been yet discovered to prove his pedigree beyond the year 1611, or to show that he is of the Irish race. James O'More, of Ballina, in the county of Kildare, who was the contemporary and correspondent of Charles O'Connor of Belanagare, was the last head of this family. He was the lineal descendant of Rudhraidhe O'Mordha (Rory or Roger O'More), of

ocht ríocht im-a ríocht penna,  
ocht leanda, ocht líneara.

Sé h-eich o' [U]i Críomthannan aindí,  
ré boim i n-a n-deágh íomál<sup>91</sup>,  
ré cuinn, ír beirt 'n-a n-glacail<sup>92</sup>,  
ré macail, cean mearúgao.

Deich n-eich, deich (g)-cuinn ír deich (g)-claidim,  
deich (b)-fáilgi, cean mearúgao  
do rí h-Ua Fáilgi mac Caesár  
cean tathair,—ír deágh íolaó.

Iar rín tuaristela rígh Laignean  
a láim glain mar glan éorab<sup>93</sup>  
ó áirb-rígh Daibhí acur Daibran,  
ír cóimlán in ceartúgao. . . . . CEART.

DO CHÍSAID OCUR DO BÍATAIB Laignean and ro :

1641, and died without male issue towards the close of the last century. The present Richard More O'Ferrall, M. P., is his representative in the female line. See *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Charles O'Connor of Belanagare*, pp. 165–168.

<sup>91</sup> *Ui Críomthannan*.—This territory, which was a part of Laeighis, is included in the present barony of "East Maryborough," for we learn from O'h-Uidhrin's topographical poem, and from the pedigrees of the seven septs of Laeighis, given in the Books of Leacan and Baile an Mhuta, and in the genealogical compilation by Dubhaltach Mac Fírbisigh (Marquis of Drogheda's copy, p. 221), that it extended around the fortress of Dunmasc (Dunamase). According to the *Feilire Aenghuis*, and the Irish Calendar of the O'Clerighs, at 12th February, the church of Teach Daimhain (Tidowan), was in this territory. After

the establishment of surnames the chief family of this territory took the surname of O'Duibh, which is probably that now Anglicized to "Deevy" and "Devoy," which are still common in the district.

<sup>92</sup> *The king of the race of Failghe, son of Cathaer*, i. e. the king of the Ui Failghe, or descendants of Ros Failghe, the eldest son of Cathaer Mor. See page 193, note <sup>b</sup>, *supra*. The country of their tribe was very extensive before the English invasion, for we have the clearest evidence to prove that it comprised the present baronies of "East and West Ophaly," in the county of Kildare; those of "Portmahinch" and "Tinmahinch," in the Queen's County; and that portion of the King's County, comprised in the diocese of "Kildare and Leighlin." See *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 243. The churches of Cill Achaidh Droma Foda, or Cill Achaidh Sinchill, Cluain Mor, Cluain

Eight shields against which spears are shivered,  
Eight tunics, eight coats of mail.

Six steeds to the Ui Criomhthannan<sup>a</sup> are ordained,  
Six oxen in good condition,  
Six drinking-horns to hold in their hands,  
Six matals, without mistake.

Ten steeds, ten drinking-horns and ten swords,  
Ten rings, without mistake,  
To the king of the race of Failghe, son of Cathaeir<sup>r</sup>,  
Without reproach,—it is good profit.

These are the stipends of the king of Laighin (Leinster),  
From a pure hand as pure profit,  
From the supreme king of Gabhal and Gabhran<sup>s</sup>,  
Very perfect is the adjustment. . . . . THE RIGHT.

#### OF THE TRIBUTES and refections of Laighin here:

Fearta Mughaine, Cuil Beannchair (Cool-banagher), Cluain Sosta (Cloonstost), and Cluain-imorrois, were in this territory. See the Irish Calendar of the O'Clerighs, at 16th January, 8rd September, and 6th and 20th October; and the *Feilire Aenghus*, at 29th and 31st March, 25th April, 25th June, 3rd September, 6th and 20th October, and 4th December.

After the establishment of surnames the chief family of this great tribe took the surname of O'Conchobhair, *Anglicè* O'Conor, from Conchobhar, the nineteenth in descent from Cathaeir Mor, and remained in great power in the territory till the reign of Philip and Mary, when they were dispossessed, after which period O'Diomasaigh, *Anglicè* O'Dempsey, became the great family of the race, and remained in possession of a considerable part of Ui Failghe till the Revolution in 1688. Shortly after the English

invasion the Fitzgeralds of Kildare wrested from O'Conchobhair Failghe (O'Conor Faly), and his correlatives, that portion of his original territory of Ui Failghe which is comprised in the present county of Kildare. There were then two "Offalys," formed out of the ancient Ui Failghe, namely, the "English Ophaley," in the county of Kildare, giving the title of Baron to a branch of the Fitzgeralds, and the Irish Ui Failghe, extending into the present King's and Queen's counties, and giving the Irish title of *Righ Ua bh-Failghe*, or king of Ui Failghe (Offaly), to O'Conchobhair Failghe (O'Conor Faly), the senior representative of Ros Failghe, the eldest son of Cathaeir Mor, monarch of Ireland in the second century.

<sup>a</sup> *King of Gabhal and Gabhran*, i. e. king of Leinster. Gabhal and Gabhran being two remarkable places in Leinster,

Seacht (g)-céat bhac ó D(h)allaid ann ro chéadur, do thúr na cána rin, acur<sup>94</sup> reacht (g)-céat tindi acur reacht [(g)-céat] torc acur reacht (g)-céat mól acur reacht (g)-céat dam, [reacht (g)-céad bó], ó D(h)allaid and rin.

Dá chéad lulgach acur céat torc acur céad bhac ó Fothchuaith Laignean.

Ní scaio ríl Fiachach, nó ríl Rora Fáilgi, ahte biathaó aóchi do rig Laignean, má théir a n-váil ríi Dhallaid rair, nó ríi (h)-Uib Néill fó thuaid, nó ríi Muirain fó deap. Céad mapte, imorro, acur céad bó acur céad torc acur céad tindi ó daer fínió a (b)-feapann.

Dá chéad bó acur reacht (g)-céo mól acur reacht (g)-céad<sup>95</sup> mapte acur dá céad bhac acur dá chéad dam ó na reacht (b)-Fochartaib.

Seacht (g)-céat bó, [reacht (g)-céad torc] acur reacht (g)-céad mól acur reacht (g)-céad mapte ó na reacht Laignib Laignin ino rin.

Dá chéad mapte acur dá chét bó acur dá céat bhac do Oppaidib [ó Oppaidib, ó feapais Laignean, B.] ino rin.

Neimio. acur ápaó acur únach acur folcaó, imorro, ó chocartaib na gráo féini<sup>96</sup> atá h-ipleam leo. Copcain [imorro] acur puu acur rínach deapg acur glar acur oláno fíno acur blaán acur binoeán ó'n lucht atá feapin do chocartaib. Má fíneapait; nó má cheachtait ino rin dá chuibéir fothu<sup>97</sup>. Cach tpeap blaóan diu ícéap na círa rin anuap, ceannmótha mór-chír rig Epeann ut rappa diximur. Conio dóib-rin po éan in ruf [buaóa] i. Denén:

COISTIG, a Laigniu na laech,  
 rir m<sup>98</sup> reanchap nach rir<sup>99</sup> baeth,  
 a n-bligeano<sup>100</sup> do chíp chalma  
 rí Cualann ir comlaípa<sup>101</sup>.

Seacht (g)-céat tindi, reacht (g)-céad torc,  
 reacht (g)-céad dam, reacht (g)-céad n-deág mól,

are here by bardic license put for the whole province. See page 214, note °, and page

17, note \*, *suprà*.

<sup>1</sup> *King of Cualunn*, i. e. of Leinster,

Seven hundred cloaks from the Galls here *imprimis*, as a beginning of that tribute, and seven hundred tinnies and seven hundred hogs and seven hundred wethers and seven hundred oxen, seven hundred cows from the Galls too.

Two hundred milch cows and a hundred hogs and a hundred cloaks from Forthuatha Laighean.

The race of Fiacha, or the race of Ros Failghe, do not pay aught except a night's refection to the king of Laighin (Leinster), if he should go to a meeting eastwards to the Galls, or northwards to the Ui Neill, or to Munster southwards. But a hundred beeves and a hundred cows and a hundred hogs and a hundred tinnies are rendered by the unfree tribes of their lands.

Two hundred cows and seven hundred wethers and seven hundred beeves and two hundred cloaks and two hundred oxen from the seven Fotharta.

Seven hundred cows, seven hundred hogs and seven hundred wethers and seven hundred beeves from the seven Laeighse of Laighin.

Two hundred beeves and two hundred cows and two hundred cloaks from the Osraidhe.

Wood and renewing (*uradh*) and washing and cleansing, moreover, are due of the cocarts of the inferior grades among them. [To supply] purple and ruu and red and grey thread and white wool and blaen and bindean is due of the best of the cocarts. If they render this [it is well]; or if they neglect to do so a double proportion [is to be levied] upon them. Every third year the above tributes are paid, except the great tribute of the king of Eire as we have said above. And it was of these the gifted sage Benean sang:

HEARKEN, O Laighne of heroes,

To the history that is not ever foolish,

What noble tribute is due

To the king of Cualann<sup>1</sup> is to be mentioned.

Seven hundred tinnies, seven hundred hogs,

Seven hundred oxen, seven hundred good wethers,

Cualann being a part put for the whole province by poetic license. See the iden-

tification of the *Feara Cualann*, page 13, note <sup>h</sup>, *suprà*.

feacht (g)-céat bpat ip fecht céad bó<sup>102</sup>  
ó thuathaidh Gall a n-aen ló.

Dá céad do bpataid, ní bréig,  
céad do thorcuid, trom in éirí<sup>103</sup>,  
acur dá céat lulgach luath  
ó fóirb fíuib na (b)-Forthuach.

Ní oleaigh cír—comoll n-gloin<sup>104</sup>,  
ó Uib cnoða<sup>105</sup> Cenrealaigh;  
for a (b)-fóirb<sup>106</sup> fíuib, nach fano,  
• chaithib in<sup>107</sup> féar r-a' fepanq.

Cumal acur cír ip cáin  
ní ícaib h-Uí Fáilgí in áig  
do ní Laigean, má h-uap feacht,  
acht cuib aibchí ar aibgeacht<sup>108</sup>.

Céad mapt ó cach thuath nach oib,  
la céad m-bó, beapag do'n ríig,  
céat torc acur céat tinní  
ó<sup>109</sup> dámaib na daer-fíne.

O na Fortharaid uilí  
oleaigh dá chéad bó buirí  
acur dá chéad bpat cána<sup>110</sup>,  
dá chéad n-gar<sup>111</sup> óam n-gabála.

Dá céad mapt, ip mór in flicht,  
dá céat bpat ip dá céat bó bliet<sup>112</sup>,

<sup>102</sup> *The territories of the Galls.*—These were the possessions of the Norse or Danish tribes, in the vicinity of Dublin. The extent of their possessions is very uncertain, and may have varied from time to time, but it is generally believed that the Leinster Danes possessed Dublin and the terri-

tory of "Fingall," extending about fifteen miles north of Dublin.

<sup>103</sup> *Forthuatha.*—See page 207, note <sup>d</sup>, *supra*.

<sup>104</sup> *Ui Ceinnsealaigh.*—See page 208, n. <sup>r</sup>, *supra*.

<sup>105</sup> *Ui Fáilghe.*—See page 216, note <sup>r</sup>,

Seven hundred cloaks and seven hundred cows  
From the territories of the Galls<sup>u</sup> in one day.

Two hundred cloaks, no falsehood,  
A hundred hogs, heavy the herd,  
And two hundred lively milch-cows  
From the land of the tribes of the Forthuatha<sup>v</sup>.

No tribute is due—a fair compact,  
From the brave Ui Ceinnsealaigh<sup>w</sup>;  
Upon their own tribe-lands, which are not poor,  
They spend the grass and the land.

Cumhal or rent or tribute  
The valiant Ui Failghe<sup>x</sup> do not pay  
To the king of Laighin, but, if in time of expedition,  
A night's refecton on visiting.

A hundred beeves from each district [which is] not of them,  
With a hundred cows, are given to the king,  
A hundred hogs and a hundred tinnés (salted pigs)  
From the hosts of the unfree tribes.

From all the Fotharta<sup>y</sup>  
Are due two hundred goodly cows  
And two hundred cloaks of tribute,  
Two hundred rough oxen of the yoke.

Two hundred beevés, great the progeny,  
Two hundred cloaks and two hundred milch-cows,

*suprà.*

<sup>y</sup> *All the Fotharta.*—See page 211, n. j,  
*suprà.* Besides the baronies of "Forth,"  
one in the county Carlow, and the other in  
the county Wexford, there were other ter-  
ritories of the name in Leinster, as Fothart  
Airbreach, around the hill of Cruachan

Bri Eile (Croghan), in the north-east of  
the King's County; and Fothart Oirthir  
Life, in the now county of Wicklow; but  
these sank under other tribes at an early  
period, and the probability is, that the Fo-  
tharta of Carlow and Wexford are the  
people referred to in the text.

bá chéad mól, marth in chaðair,  
ó na Laigrib Deaighaí.

Seacht (g)-céat bó al-Laigrib luatha,  
feacht (g)-céat torc tar na tuatha  
feacht (g)-céat mara a<sup>113</sup> Maigh Laighean  
feacht (g)-céat mól tar móir gaineamh.

Ac. rin cír<sup>114</sup> a tuath 'n-a éiríib,  
do ríig Laighean ó Laigrib.  
ní ba raí nach<sup>115</sup> ploimpea in ceart;  
ir cóir do cach a éloirfeacht<sup>116</sup>. . . . . C.

NA<sup>117</sup> SAER-CHISA, rlicht ad cuar,  
icé no ráid-feam anuar,  
ó faer-clanabáib oligir<sup>118</sup> rin,  
bíó for fearabó a n-echair.

Na daer-clanabá,—bíth nach ceap<sup>119</sup>,  
bíó for<sup>120</sup> a fearannn díleap;  
daer-chír uabóib, iré a fír,  
do breith co dúinib<sup>121</sup> áirb-ríig.

Ir h-é cír oleagair bíb rin  
do chonabó ir do neimeab<sup>122</sup>:  
úrab a brait, búan an moó,  
cír d'únab acur d'folcab<sup>123</sup>.

Oleagair do'n luét ir fearr bíb  
ruu<sup>124</sup> ir corcair co caín<sup>125</sup> bñig

<sup>1</sup> *Laighne Deas-ghabhair*.— See page 194, note 2, *suprà*.

<sup>2</sup> *Laeighse*.— See page 214, n. 2, *suprà*.  
See *Annals of Ulster*, A. D. 792.

<sup>3</sup> *Magh Laighean*, i. e. *campus Lagenia*, the plain of Leinster. This is another name for the territory of the *Ui Faelain*. See the *Feilire Aenghus*, and the *Irish Calendar* of

the O'Clerighs, at 18th May, where it is stated that the church of *Claenadh* (*Clane*) in the county of *Kildare*, is situate “i n-*Uibh Faelain a Muigh Laighen*,” in *Ui Faelain* in *Magh Laighean*. See also the former at 3rd May, note on *Conlaedh*, Bishop of *Kildare*, at 3rd May; and *Annals of the Four Masters* at the years 998, 1091,



Two hundred wethers, good the assistance,  
From the Laighne<sup>c</sup> Deas-ghabhair.

Seven hundred cows from the quick Laeighse<sup>a</sup>,  
Seven hundred hogs over the districts,  
Seven hundred beeves from Magh Laighean<sup>b</sup>,  
Seven hundred wethers over the great sand.

Such is the tribute [paid] from the country of his tribes,  
To the king of Laighin by the Laighne (Leinstermen),  
He is not truly learned who will not name the right;  
It is right for all to hear it: . . . . . HEARKEN.

THE FREE TRIBUTES, as I have heard,  
Are they which we have above mentioned,  
Of the noble-tribes these are due,  
Who are upon lands external [to the mensal lands].

The unfree tribes<sup>c</sup>,—a condition not oppressive,  
That are on his [the king's] own lands;  
Servile rent by them, it is the truth,  
Is to be supplied to the palaces of the chief king.

The tribute which is due of these  
[Is] of fire-bote and wood;  
[Also] the renewing of his cloaks, constant the practice,  
A tribute in washing and in cleansing.

There is due of the best party of them  
Ru and purple of fine strength,

and 1171. For the extent of the country of the Ui Faelain, for which Magh Laighean is here substituted as an *aliàs* name, see page 205, note <sup>a</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>c</sup> *Unfree tribes*.—The unfree tribes or *daer-chlanna* of Leinster are not mentioned by their surnames; but the people called Forthuatha Laighean, who were not all slaves, bore various surnames, which are

given at full length in the Books of Leacan and Baile an Mhuta. D. Mac Firsigh traces the pedigree of their king, Domhnall Ua or Mac Fearghail, to Mesincorb, son of Cucorb, king of Leinster, in twenty-seven generations. This is the Domhnall Mac Fearghail, Righ Forthuatha Laighean, who was slain in the battle of Cluain Tarbh (Clontarf).

gnath bearg, olano fíno, ní chel,  
blaán buíó acur binbeán.

Na naep-clána ceán deilb<sup>126</sup> η-oll  
teichib pé cíp ó fearaib<sup>127</sup>  
a dá chuibéir oleagur oib  
na tucrao ó n-athar thír.

Nocho bliḡeano cuairb co teano<sup>128</sup>  
ó n-ḡ chóició na h-ḡirino  
fili nach riapara rin  
a chíra 'r-a thuairtail<sup>129</sup>.

Oleagair catra ir cuairt ir epó  
ó gach n-ḡ ar a riacht fon<sup>130</sup>  
filiḡ n-ḡ<sup>131</sup> fínoḡa co feib  
tuairteol ir cíp;—coirteḡ<sup>132</sup>. . COISTIG A LAIG.

ḡENÉN [ono] oo<sup>133</sup> áacain ann ro oo fearcúr ḡall Acha  
Cliath.

ATA SUNO SEANCHAS, ruairc, reang,  
ir maich lé fearaib ḡirino  
r char Aea Cliath, ní chél,  
amail ro facaib ḡenén.

Dia (o)-tairic thuairb a Teairairb  
h-ua Deochain in beig theaglaig  
o'Arpaal ḡreatan acur ḡreag  
nir chreir Laegairi lannear.

Luib deirib ḡanba buíó  
h-ua Deochain, in beag óime,

<sup>d</sup> *The descendant of the Deacon*, i. e. St. Patrick, rectè son of the deacon. In the Confessio it is said: "Patrem habui Calpornium diaconum, filium quondam Potiti presbyteri."

<sup>e</sup> *Breagh*.—A part of East Meath comprising five cantreds or baronies. See p. 11, note 2, *suprà*.

<sup>f</sup> *Laeghaire*.—According to Tireachan's Annotations on the Life of St. Patrick, the

Red thread, white wool, I will not conceal it,  
Yellow blaen and binnean.

From the unfree tribes of ignoble countenance,  
Who fly with the rent from the land,  
Twice as much is due  
As they had carried off from their fatherland.

Not entitled to formal visitation  
From a provincial king of Eire  
Is the poet who knows not these  
His tributes and his stipends.

Entitled to esteem, to visitation and wealth,  
From every king to whom he goeth,  
Is the poet who knows well  
The stipend and tribute; hear ye. . . . . HEARKEN.

Benean sang this concerning the history of the Galls (foreigners)  
of Ath Cliath (Dublin):

THERE IS HERE A HISTORY pleasant [and] smooth,  
Which is agreeable to the men of Eire;  
The profits of Ath Cliath (Dublin) I will not conceal,  
As Benean has fixed them.

When northwards to Teamhair (Tara) came  
The descendant (son) of the Deacon<sup>d</sup> of the goodly household,  
In the apostle of Britain and of Breagh<sup>e</sup>  
The vigorous Laeghaire<sup>f</sup> did not believe.

Passed, right-hand-wise, by fertile Banbha (Ireland)  
The descendant (son) of the Deacon, the good man,

monarch Laeghaire never believed in Christianity, but he permitted Patrick to preach the Gospel. The passage is as follows:  
"Perrexit ad civitatem *Temro*, ad Loigarium, filium Neill, iterum quia apud illum

foedus pepigit ut non occideretur in regno illius; sed non potuit credere, dicens, 'Nam Neel pater meus non sinivit mihi credere, sed ut sepeliar in cacuminibus *Temro* quasi viris consistentibus in bello:

co (o)-ceapach<sup>133</sup> óun na n-ḡall n-ḡlan  
 oo chobair clano mac Míleao.

Iṛ h-é fa<sup>135</sup> nṡḡ a n-Āeth Cliath cnuaid,  
 oia (o)-táinic Páopais a tuap,  
 Ailpin mac Eolathair<sup>137</sup>  
 oo cloino Domhnall Dubh-dámairḡ.

An lá táinic co h-Āeth Cliath  
 Páopais Macha na mór [ḡ]iach<sup>139</sup>,  
 iṛ ano por fuc báṛ bḡgach  
 aen mac Ailpin imnapach.

Āonabap co h-ua n-Deochain<sup>139</sup>  
 aen mac nṡḡ ḡall, ḡairḡ Eoshaid,

quia utantur gentiles in sepulchris armati  
 promptis armis facie ad faciam usque ad  
 diem *Erdathe* apud Magos, i. e. iudicii diem  
 Domini."—*Book of Armagh*, fol. 10, a. 2.

<sup>137</sup> *Fort of the foreigners*.—This is intended to denote Dun Duibh-linne, the fort of the black pool (Dublin).

<sup>139</sup> *Ailpin, the son of Eolathach, of the race of Domhnall Dubh-dhamhach*.—Nothing has been discovered in the authentic Irish Annals to show that there was ever such a king at Dublin. The names here mentioned are not Norse ones, and it seems quite certain that the Northmen never attempted to make any settlement in Ireland before the reign of Donnachadh, son of Domhnall, A. D. 794 (795), when, according to the Annals of Ulster, they made the first descent on the island of Reachrainn, off the north-east coast of Ireland. We learn from Irish history that Tuathal Teachtmhar, monarch of Ireland in the second century, married the daughter of Scal Báibh, king of Finland, and that Una, Danish princess, was the mother of Conn

of the Hundred Battles. See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, part iii. cc. 56, 60, but no reference is made to a Norwegian colony being settled in Ireland in any other authority except this and Jocelin's Life of St. Patrick. No authority has been found in either the Scandinavian or Irish histories, annals, or sagas to suggest that they had any settlement on this part of the coast in or near Dublin before the year 836, when they entered the Boinn (Boyne) with a fleet of sixty sail, and the Life (Liffey) with another fleet of sixty sail, and plundered the plains of Magh Breagh and Magh Life, and in the same year established a colony at Ath Cliath or Dublin. Nor were they converted to Christianity till about the year 948. See Ware's works, vol. v. cap. 69, p. 60. Jocelin, in his Life of St. Patrick, states that the Irish apostle departing from the borders of Midhe (Meath), directed his steps towards Laignín (Leinster), and having passed the River Finglas, came to a certain hill almost a mile distant from Ath Cliath, and, casting his eyes

Until he reached the fort of the fine Galls (foreigners<sup>1</sup>)  
To relieve the race of the sons of Mileadh (Milesius).

He who was king of hardy Ath Cliath,  
When Patrick came from the north [from Teamhair],  
Was Ailpin, son of Eolathach,  
Of the race of Domhnall Dubh-dhamhach<sup>2</sup>.

The day on which at Ath Cliath arrived  
Patrick of Macha<sup>3</sup> of great revenues,  
On the same [day] cruel death had taken off  
The only son of valorous Ailpin.

They brought to the descendant (son) of the Deacon  
The only son of the king of the Galls (foreigners), the fierce  
Eochaidh,

round the place and the circumjacent country, he is said to have pronounced this prophecy: "Pagus iste nunc exiguus, eximius erit; divitiis et dignitate dilatabitur: nec crescere cessabit, donec in regni solium sublimetur." But this gatherer and beautifier of the popular legends respecting St. Patrick soon forgets himself (or his work has been unfairly interpolated by some modern scribes to serve a purpose), for in the next chapter but one he, in fabling language, introduces St. Patrick into the noble city of Dublin, which had been built by the Norwegians, (*Norwegie et insularum populis*), and which was then governed by a king, Alpinus, the son of Eochadh, from whose daughter Dublinia, forsooth, the city took its name. See Ussher's *Primordia*, pp. 861, 862; and Harris's *History of the City of Dublin*, p. 6. This is evidently the story which is said in the prose text to be taken from the Psalter of Caiseal, and for which the autho-

rity of St. Benean is there alleged, but which cannot be as old as the year 836, when the Northmen first settled in Dublin. The old lives of St. Patrick state that he proceeded from Meath to Naas, which was then the residence of the kings of Leinster, and this is evidently the truth, as appears from the whole stream of Irish history. Dr. Lanigan thinks that this fable of the conversion of Ailpin, king of the Norwegians of Dublin, by St. Patrick, "was undoubtedly fabricated at Armagh," and that "either Jocelin was induced, in compliment to his patron, the Archbishop Thomas, to insert it in his book, or that it was foisted by some other hand into his MS."—*Eccl. Hist. Ireland*, vol. i. pp. 275, 276.

<sup>1</sup> *Of Macha*, i. e. of Ard Macha (Armagh).

<sup>2</sup> *Eochaidh*.—This name is Irish, and denotes, *eques*, horseman. The Scandinavian nations had no such name. See Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, page 568, note 4; and *Acta Sanctorum*, page 114, note 8.

oia chrád acur oia chelgáð,—  
do'n Appal pob imdeargáð.

“Dá<sup>10</sup> (o)-tucéá anmain and rin,  
a éleirig cháid, chumáctaið,  
plechepad duib 'c-on (g)-Coill Cheanainn,  
plechepaid Dail in glair fearainn.”

Luid i n-a deirid fó éirí  
in t-Appal ir a' t-áirid-rig,  
co ra eirig 'n-a beathaid<sup>11</sup>  
féiridig álainn, áirid Echarid.

Ar rin adnadar<sup>12</sup> só in plóg  
rcnepall cach fír, ungá d'ór,—  
ungá cacha rróna ar rin<sup>13</sup>,—  
ir rcneball óir cach én fír.

“Tí h-uingí por fácbad<sup>14</sup> éall  
do'n cháin a n-garrdaib na n-Dall,  
airccheap fó éirí ino Ath Cliath  
ó D(h)aeiridailib na n-gall rciaith.

“Dia nam topa in cach bliadain  
in cháin-pea lib ó Liamain  
nocho n-féirad<sup>15</sup> fír thalman  
bár n-dún-rí oo óithfoglað.

“An dún atáir co dpeamain,—  
nó rceapa ré duib-deamain<sup>16</sup>,—  
bið h-é in tpeap tine, nach tsm,  
biar fá deirid i n-Éirid.

<sup>10</sup> *Coill Cheanainn*, i.e. Ceanann's wood.  
This has not been identified.

<sup>11</sup> *Screapall*, a coin used by the ancient  
Irish, which weighed twenty-four grains,  
and was of the value of three pence. See

Petrie's *Inquiry into the Origin and Uses  
of the Round Towers of Ireland*, pp. 214,  
215.

<sup>12</sup> *Liamhain*.—This, which was other-  
wise called *Dun Liamhna*, was the name

To annoy and entrap him [i. e. the Apostle],—  
To the Apostle it was a reproach.

“If thou shouldst bring a soul into him,  
O cleric pure [and] powerful,  
I will submit to thee at Coill Cheanainn<sup>t</sup>,  
[And] the Galls of the green land shall submit to thee.”

They went round him thrice, right-hand-wise,  
The Apostle and the high king,  
So that he rose up in his life (into life)  
The comely hero, the noble Eochaidh.

Hereupon the host brought to him  
A screapall<sup>1</sup> for each man, an ounce of gold,—  
An ounce for each nose besides,—  
And a screapall of gold for each man.

“The three ounces which were imposed yonder  
As tribute in the courts of the Galls, [for it  
[If these be not paid] thrice shall Ath Cliath be plundered  
By the Gaeidhil of the foreign shields.

“If in every year be rendered  
This tribute by you out of Liamhain<sup>m</sup>,  
The men of earth shall not be able  
To plunder (or destroy) your fortress.

“The fortress in which they fiercely dwell,—  
Which was separated from the black demons,—  
Shall be the third fire<sup>n</sup>, without debility,  
Which shall be at the last in Eire.

of one of the palaces of the kings of Leinster. It is the present “Dunlavan,” in the west of the county of Wicklow. See Circuit of Muirheartach Mac Neill, p. 36, note 59. From this it would appear that the

foreigners had possession of this place at the time of the writing of this poem. See page 203, note 2, *suprà*.

<sup>n</sup> *The third fire*, i. e. the last inhabited place but two.

"Fácbaím fópa na chuile<sup>147</sup>  
 buaiò m-ban ar a m-ban-cuirí,  
 buaiò ar a n-ḡallanḡ ḡlana,  
 buaiò n-áillí ar a n-ingeaná.

"Ḍuaiò mánna ar macaibḡ a m-ban,  
 buaiò coḡaiò ir buaiò cómpoim,  
 buaiò dia n-altaibḡ conná<sup>148</sup>  
 im luaò chopn ir chóimóla.

"Ḍuaiò riḡ chaidchi i n-Áeth Cliath éruaiò,  
 buaiò n-amair, buaiò n-óclaiò uaiò,  
 buaiò caḡura 'n-a chellaibḡ,  
 buaiò n-arair ir namchenbaigḡ.

"Án óin ar táinig a tuaiò,  
 ná roibḡ ar a riḡ ro ḡuaiò<sup>149</sup>;  
 ir móir ḡallacht a ḡailí<sup>150</sup>  
 mo mallacht ar Láegairí."

Ir de nach bia rísh na n-ḡall  
 pé riḡ Míodí na móir land<sup>151</sup>,  
 iuir Theamair ir Liamain  
 cean deḡaiò cách én bliabam.

<sup>147</sup> *Its churches.*—This shows that the poem was composed after the conversion of the Galls to Christianity. Ware says that the Danes were converted to the Christian faith in the reign of their king Godfrid, the son of Sitric, about the year 948; see his *Antiquities*, Ed. 1705, pp. 61, 62. The churches whose erection is usually ascribed to them are Mary's Abbey, St. Audoen's, and Christ's Church.

<sup>148</sup> *The fort, &c., i. e. Teamhair.*

<sup>149</sup> *My curse upon Leaghaire.*—Here it is evident that this particular poem was composed to flatter the Galls of Dublin by

making St. Patrick pronounce a blessing on their fortress, at the same time that he pronounced a malediction against the fortress of the Irish monarchs. But there is no authority in the ancient *Lives of St. Patrick*, preserved in the Book of Armagh, or those published by Colgan, to show that he ever cursed Teamhair or Tara; that was reserved for Saint Ruadhan of Lothra (Rodanus of Lorha), the son of Fearghus Birn, son of Eochaidh, son of Deardubh, son of Daire Cearba, son of Oilíoll Flann-beag, son of Fiacha Muilleathan, son of Eoghan Mor, son of Oilíoll



"I leave, upon them, all [these privileges, graces, or gifts],  
 Gift of [being good] wives upon their female bands,  
 Gift [of being good husbands] upon their fine Galls,  
 Gift of beauty upon their damsels.

"Gift of swimming upon the sons of their wives,  
 Gift of war and success of trophies,  
 Gift to their abundant houses  
 Of the quick circulation of drinking-horns and drinking.

"Gift of [good] kings for ever in hardy Ath Cliath,  
 Gift of hired soldiers, gift of native soldiers,  
 Gift of veneration in its churches,  
 Gift of habitation and commerce.

"The fort<sup>1</sup> whence I came from the north,  
 May great success not be on its kings;  
 [Though] great is the fame of his valor  
 My curse upon Laeghaire<sup>2</sup>."

It is from this [curse] that the peace of the Galls  
 Shall not be with the king of Midhe of the great swords,  
 Between Teamhair and Liamhain  
 There shall be a battle every year<sup>3</sup>.

Olum, king of Munster; and it is strongly to be suspected that this poem, or, at all events, the present form of the poem, was fabricated in Munster, with a view to lessen the dignity of the *Nepotes Neill*, by making St. Patrick curse their king and palace, while he blessed the king of the foreigners of Dublin and their city. No opportunity is lost sight of to give this great race of Niall a stain. It is probable that this poem and others, and possibly the whole work, were produced at Caiseal, during the reign of Cormac Mac Cuilean-

nain, when the enmity between the races of Oilioll Olum and of Niall of the Nine Hostages was at its height; and the holy Cormac lost his life in a battle which he hazarded at Bealach Mughna, in Magh Ailbhe, with Flann Sionna, monarch of Ireland, and head of the southern Ui Neill. See the Introduction.

<sup>1</sup> *There shall be a battle.*—This is a quasi prophecy introduced after the event had occurred. It looks a strange result of the (supposed) curse of Teamhair and the blessing of Ath Cliath by the Irish apostle.

h-é rin feanchar Aetha Cliath  
 inoirim daib tap' ceano fiaich;  
 biaib il-lebhaib co bráth m-bhar  
 mar atá ruid 'r-a feanchar . . . . . ATÁ SUNO.

\* *The history of Ath Cliath.*—See the and the tradition which it purports to  
 question as to the authority of this poem, record as to St. Patrick's visit to Dub-

That is the history of Ath Cliath<sup>a</sup>,  
 I relate [it] to you in discharge of a debt;  
 In books till the day of judgment it shall be  
 As it is here, in the history. . . . . THERE IS HERE.

lin, and the Galls or foreigners supposed to the Editor in the Introduction to this  
 be then resident there, fully discussed by work.

VI. BEANNACHT PHÁDRUIG AGUS CEART RÍOGH  
ÉIREANN A D-TEAMHRAIGH.

PATRICIUS [HANC] BENEDICTIONEM PRO HABITATORIBUS HIBERNIA INSOZA DEIDIT; CÓNIO AD BEARTE PÁDRAIC ANB RO:

“BEANDACHT DÉ FORAIB UILÍ  
FEARAIB ÉREANN, MACAIB, MNÁIB,  
RCEO INGEANAIB,—FLAICH BEANDÁCT,  
BAL' BEANDÁCT, BUÁN BEANDÁCT.  
PLÁN BEANDÁCT, RÁP BEANDÁCT,  
RÍP BEANNÁCT, BEANNÁCT NÍME,  
NÉL BENDÁCT, BEANDÁCT MAPA,  
MEPC BEANDÁCT, BEANDÁCT THÍPÍ,  
TORAÓ BEANDÁCT, BEANDÁCT OPUCHTA,  
BEANNACT AICÍ\*, BEANDÁCT GAILÍ,  
BEANDÁCT GAIRCIÓ, BEANDÁCT GOTHÁ,  
BEANDÁCT GHNÍMA, BEANDÁCT OPDÁN,  
BENNACT ÁINE FORAIB UILÍ  
LAECHAIB, CLÉIPCHIB, CEIN\* FORCONGRAID  
BEANNACT FEAP NÍME,  
IP MO EBEPTE ÓP BICH BEANNACT.” . . . BEANDÁCT.

NÍ DLÍG CUAIRIO A (G)-CÚICEAD I N-ÉRINN [IN] FÍLÍ NAÉ FIARARA CÍP  
UCUR SUAIRTEAIB IN CÚICEAD RÍN, ANAIB AC\* BEARTE DUBÉAC MAC H-UI  
LUGHAIR\* RO.

\* *Dubhthach Mac Uí Lughair*.—He was chief poet of Ireland, and the first convert made by St. Patrick at Teamhair

or Tara. He was the instructor of Fiech, who afterwards became Bishop of Sleibhte (Sletty or Sleaty), near Carlow. Colgan

VI. THE BENEDICTION OF ST. PATRICK, AND THE PRIVILEGES OF THE KINGS OF EIRE AT TEAMHAIR.

PATRICIUS HANC BENEDICTIONEM PRO HABITATORIBUS HIBERNIÆ INSULÆ DEDIT; and Patrick said this:

“THE BLESSING OF GOD upon you all,  
Men of Eire, sons, women,  
And daughters; prince-blessing,  
Good blessing, perpetual blessing,  
Full blessing, superlative blessing,  
Eternal blessing, the blessing of heaven,  
Cloud-blessing, sea-blessing,  
Fruit-blessing, land-blessing,  
Produce-blessing, dew-blessing,  
Blessing of the elements, blessing of prowess,  
Blessing of chivalry, blessing of voice,  
Blessing of deeds, blessing of magnificence,  
Blessing of happiness, be upon you all,  
Laics, clerics, while I command  
The blessing of the men of heaven,  
It is my bequest, as it is a perpetual blessing.” THE BLESSING.

No poet is entitled to visitation of a province in Eire, who does not know the tribute and stipend of that province, as Dubhthach Mac Uí Lughair<sup>a</sup> said here.

says that he had in his possession some of the poems composed by this Dubhthach.  
—See *Trias Thaum.*, p. 8, n. 5. “Ex-

tant penes me diversa hujus inter suos  
celebris viri opuscula, alibi sæpius citanda.” St. Patrick called at the house of

NÍ DÚIG cuairt nó ceanbaigeacht,

ár ní filig fíor-eolach

i (b)-feidm eolair ilchrothaid,

menib co féig fearara

círa ceanda ir cuairtela

corbad uili eirneide

iur n-ur<sup>o</sup> eolair ilélanoar

ó ehorach co déig.

NÍ DÚIG cuairt a (g)-caín chóicead

oo chóiceaduib cloth danba,

inár<sup>o</sup> imchuaire én tuaiti,—

máó dia (b)-feagthar<sup>o</sup> fíorib,—

filig nach uron deachraigfeap

rochar, dochar oilmaine

brecht cach thíri eic:

ir ano ir ras<sup>o</sup> reanchad

in tan léagar léigníma

inbri Eirip<sup>o</sup> uair.

Ir ano ir ail ollamán,

amail oil cean inorcuchad,

in tan tuicéap tuairtela

la círa cean chunntoðaire,

conur uili indirfea

in cach aipeacht áro:

napab roitheach rean aruir,

ar chroó ná ar cháro-ríne<sup>o</sup>,

air ní íluinreap rean bretha

reap co (g)-conur, coindirle:

nírab napach nóireasach

ar míad ná ar mór aicme,

menir<sup>o</sup> ramlaíó ramigear<sup>o</sup>—

a rochar ní déig. . . . . NÍ [DÚIG.]

this poet, who resided in Ui Ceinseallaigh, near the present town of Carlow, when the latter recommended his disciple Fiech as a person fitted to be promoted to the episco-

pal dignity. See Ir. Gram. by J. O'Donovan, App. II., p. 437, where the account of the meeting of Patrick and Fiech is given from the Annotations of Tireachon,

NO ONE IS ENTITLED to visitation or sale [of his poems],  
 For he is not a truly learned poet  
 In the use of various kinds of knowledge,  
 Unless he knows distinctly  
 The ample tributes and stipends  
 That may all be rendered  
 According to their various modes of distribution  
 From beginning to end.  
 Not entitled to visitation in any fair province  
 Of the provinces of famous Banbha,  
 Nor to the circuit of any chieftainry,—  
 If justice be observed,—  
 Is any poet who will not directly distinguish  
 The advantages, the disadvantages of the dignity  
 Of his poems in each territory he enters:  
 When he is a learned historian,  
 It is when he has read all the actions  
 Of the isle of noble Eibhear<sup>b</sup>.  
 It is then he is a rock of an ollamh,  
 Like a rock immoveable,  
 When he comprehends the stipends  
 And the tributes without doubt,  
 So that he can recite them all  
 In each noble meeting:  
 Let him not be an old rusty vessel  
 Influenced by wealth or friendship,  
 For, exploded judgments should not be pronounced  
 By a man of justice and mercy:  
 He shall not be able to bind usages  
 On the great or noble tribe,  
 Unless thus he variously distinguishes—  
 To his emoluments he is not entitled. NO ONE IS ENTITLED.

and compared with the Tripartite Life as published by Colgan. As to this *rithearg* see Battle of Magh Rath, p. 154, and p. 192, n. <sup>a</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>b</sup> *Isle of noble Eibhear*, i. e. Eire of Ireland. Eibhear was the eldest son or Milesadh or Milesius, and the ancestor of the dominant families of Munster.

[Coniò ar na tuaraprelaið rin anuas agur ar na círaib ro ácaim  
 denéan hoc carmen ut Pralæpium Caril oixie]:

TEAMAIR, TEACH a m-bí Mac Cuino,  
 foras<sup>14</sup> na laech a Liath-druim,  
 atá lim-ra do meðair  
 a n-bíri do déig-feraið<sup>15</sup>.

Cach rí gēbur Teamair theano<sup>17</sup>,  
 acur teachtbur iach n-Éreano<sup>18</sup>,  
 iré aráire oib uile  
 do fluagð ðanða ðarr-ðuidi<sup>19</sup>.

Más rið oilear do Theumair  
 bur teach<sup>20</sup> do na déig-feraið  
 giallað cach co ruici<sup>21</sup> a theach  
 oo'n rið fíir-én, fíir-ðreacáic.

Oleagar de-roni<sup>22</sup> réir na plóg  
 aét co (o)-tírao 'n-a ehnóil,  
 oleagar oib-ream géill<sup>23</sup> cach fíir  
 aét co (o)-tírao co Teamair<sup>24</sup>. . . . . T.

TEAMAIR nochó oir do-ron  
 mmba reanchaið ráir foraið<sup>25</sup>,  
 co n-indireas o'á ruiri<sup>26</sup>  
 tuarireal cach aen duine.

Ná tarasó tar áearc co neach,  
 co nach puca<sup>27</sup> féin gu ðreach;  
 ná oéantar deðaið 'n-a ehið,  
 oáið ir geir mór o'á gearaið<sup>28</sup>.

Co nach deáirna cocasó coin,  
 ré plóg<sup>29</sup> chóicið Choncóðair,

<sup>14</sup> *Liath-druim*, one of the names of the hill  
 of Teamhair (Tara). See p. 144, n. 1, *supra*.

<sup>15</sup> *The province of Conchobhar*, i. e. of  
 Uladh or Ulster, so called from Conchobhar



And it was concerning these stipends and tributes following Be-nean sang this song, as the Psalter of Caiseal has said:

TEAMHAIR, THE HOUSE in which resided the son of Conn,  
The seat of the heroes on Liath-druim<sup>c</sup>,  
I have in memory  
Their stipends to the chieftains.

Every king who occupies strong Teamhair,  
And possesses the land of Eire,  
He is the noblest among all  
The hosts of Banbha the fertile.

If he be a rightful king of Teamhair  
It is right for the chiefs  
To make each of them submission even at his house  
To the just and justly-judging king.

It is due of him to acknowledge the hosts  
When they come into his assembly,  
It is due of them to give hostages each man  
When they come to Teamhair. . . . . TEAMHAIR.

TEAMHAIR is not due to him  
Unless he be a very intelligent historian,  
So that he may tell his chieftains  
The stipend of every person.

That he may not give beyond right to any one,  
That he himself may not pass a false sentence;  
That no quarrel take place in his house,  
For that is the great restriction of his restrictions.

That he may not wage fierce war  
With the host of the province of Conchobhar<sup>d</sup>,

Mac Neassa, king of that province, under whom the heroes of the Red Branch flou-

rished about the period of the birth of Christ.

ná fálmaíḡcheap Teampair óe  
do chocad élanó Rúðraidí.

Óligiú beith i (o)-Teampairí<sup>30</sup> thpéin.  
acur cách ic a oigpéir,  
mene epḡi péin pé goil<sup>31</sup>  
ad riapairíó dó a chúiceasóaiḡ.

ÓLIGIÚ RIḡ ULAD ÉAMNA  
plead dó cach reachtinaó samna  
ir a cur dó cean gainní  
co bpuí lino luaithepindí<sup>32</sup>.

Méó na fleidi a beapair ano<sup>33</sup>  
do ní Teampair na (o)-thpéan lano<sup>34</sup>  
dá dábaio dóc cach leana,  
co n-a fuirpeac<sup>35</sup> fíir-ḡneama.

Dul co Teampairíó 'n-a deáḡaió  
'n-a thimól<sup>36</sup> do déiḡ-fearaib;  
inomor dóib ap a n-airteap<sup>37</sup>  
co (b)-finteap<sup>38</sup> a (o)-euaripcal.

Óligiú ní Éamna Macha,  
dóig nochó mac miólaí<sup>39</sup>,  
gach flaithe ḡeḡur goḡe n-ḡaine  
noch fa h-olc dó a<sup>40</sup> fomaíne.

Óligiú<sup>41</sup> leath in tigi [te]  
in plóḡ<sup>42</sup> pin Éamna Maichi,  
acur ḡabair,—ní cláen lino,  
ceirte-leath<sup>43</sup> ap aen pé<sup>44</sup> h-Éipino.

Fín do dáil forpo<sup>45</sup> a (o)-Teampairíó  
co<sup>46</sup> méasaiḡead a meannmain;

\* *Sons of Rudhraidhe*.—These were the ancient inhabitants of Uladh or Ulster. Rudhraidhe was monarch of Ireland, A. M. 8845, according to O'Flaherty's Chronology.

That Teamhair be never wasted  
By war with the sons of Rudhraidhe<sup>o</sup>.

It is his right to be at mighty Teamhair  
And all to him obedient;  
If he himself break not his faith  
His provincialists to him are obedient.

BOUND IS THE KING OF ULTONIAN EAMHAIN<sup>1</sup>  
To make him a feast every seventh Samhain [Allhallows]  
And that to be sent by him without scantiness  
To the margin of Linn Luaithrinne<sup>o</sup>.

The extent of the feast here mentioned  
To the king of Teamhair of the mighty swords [is]  
Twelve vats of each [kind of] ale,  
With a suitable quantity of best viands.

[He is] to go to Teamhair after it  
With his assemblage of chieftains;  
Wealth [is to be given] to them for their journey  
In coming to know their stipends.

Entitled is the king of Eamhain Mhacha [to gifts],  
For he is not one who will fail of his succession,  
[And] every king who succeeds to a rightful inheritance  
Shall receive no despicable gifts.

Entitled to half the warm house  
Is that host of Eamhain Mhacha,  
And they take,—it is no partiality of our's,  
The exact half<sup>2</sup> [of the house] along with [the rest of] Eire.

Wine is to be dealt out to them at Teamhair  
Until their spirits are increased;

<sup>1</sup> *Eamhain*.—See p. 22, n. <sup>1</sup>, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Linn Luaithrinne*, i. e. "pool of the  
whirling;" not identified, but probably ap-

plied to a part of the Boinn (Boyne).

<sup>3</sup> *Exact half*, i. e. as large a share of  
the house as all the rest of the *men of Eire*.

cuirn breca co n-a m-beanbaib,  
róirni co n-a (b)-fichehillab<sup>47</sup>.

Cóim leithib a h-aóchr<sup>48</sup> ó'ór  
do'n pí díneagra, óimór,  
dá ceat bó ácur dá chéad ech,  
dá céad capbaid,—ní claiden bpech.

Dá luing déc ar éoblach coin<sup>49</sup>  
ó pí Teairpa co (o)-treapab  
a (g)-cur do macaib flatha  
dóig i' congaib inb lacha<sup>50</sup>.

Dá fleig déc ar a m-bia nem,  
dá élaideam dég map ealteam<sup>51</sup>,  
dá édach déc cach oatha  
rá chóimair mac n-árb-flatha.

Roga tochmaire a (o)-Teairpaib  
do rigaib co ro<sup>52</sup> nienmain  
a éobairt dó, áct co (o)-roga<sup>53</sup>  
má dá roib a n-aenema<sup>54</sup>.

Comairi gaei deirg dámaib  
do rig Ulab ilbágaib;  
dá roib a (o)-Teairpaib na (o)-top  
ná lám neach a írúgaib.

<sup>47</sup> *Clothes of every color.*—According to Keating's History of Ireland one color was used in the dress of a slave, two colors in that of a plebeian, three in that of a soldier or young lord, four in that of a brughaidh or public victualler, five in that of a lord of a tuath or cantred, and six in that of an ollamh or chief professor of any of the liberal arts, and in that of the king and queen.—See Keating's History of Ireland, Haliday's edition, p. 322. The passage is translated by Dr. Lynch as follows:

"Hoc item rege, vestes rubeo cæruleoque colore infici cœperunt, et ad amictus varia ornamentorum genera artificum manibus addi. Idem insuper instituit, ut plebeiorum et infimi ordinis hominum indumentis unicus duntaxat inesset color, gregariorum autem militum vestimenta duobus coloribus; nobilium Ephaborum tribus; locupletum villicorum quatuor; tetrarchorum quinque; eruditorum denique, Regum et Reginarum, sex colorum varietate distinguerentur."

Variegated drinking-horns with their peaks,  
Sets [of chessmen] with their chess-boards.

The full breadth of his face, of gold,  
To the great, matchless king,  
Two hundred cows and two hundred steeds,  
Two hundred chariots,—no partial decision.

Twelve ships of the fleet of war  
From the king of Teamhair of battles  
[Are] to be sent for the sons of the chieftains  
Because they are acceptable presents.

Twelve lances on which there is poison,  
Twelve swords with razor edges,  
Twelve suits of clothes of every color<sup>s</sup>  
For the use of the sons of the great chieftains.

A choice of courtship at Teamhair  
Of princesses of highest minds  
[Is] to be given to him<sup>h</sup>, but so as he selects her  
If she (the princess) be unmarried.

The protection of the red-hot javelin is given  
To the king of many-battled Uladh; [i. e.]  
If he be at Teamhair of lords  
That no one dare dishonor him<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> *To be given to him*, i. e. in marriage. According to the traditions at Taillte (Tell-town in Meath) all the marriages which took place in the kingdom were celebrated there in Pagan times, but the contract lasted for twelve months only, at the expiration of which the parties might separate if they pleased. The Editor, however, has never been able to test the truth of this tradition by any written evidence. At the period to which this poem refers, the Christian religion prevailed in the country, and

it must be considered that marriage, according to the rites and ceremonies of the ancient Irish Church, is intended by the words in the text.

<sup>i</sup> *That no one dare dishonor him*, i. e. that no one violate his privileges. The word ῥύριζαο is translated "dishonore" by the original compiler of the Annals of Ulster. See Pinkerton's extracts from those Annals in his Inquiry into the History of Scotland, where he remarks that this word is peculiarly Irish. For the various authorities

Daileanga fód chír a each<sup>u</sup>;  
 fír dhéaí fá [f]óiríob a ech<sup>u</sup>;  
 dá roib a<sup>u</sup> (b)-Teampaió chuathaió  
 ro fear ir d'á fír chuathaió.

A chuibríob a (b)-cig Theampá,  
 córaibí dó móir<sup>u</sup> mienma  
 . eirí fichie maie, fichi muc,  
 fichi eiribí co eiréan lué.

Fichi glac lora, dár lim,  
 fichi uí fáilíob foiríob<sup>u</sup>,  
 fichi cliaí n-a m-biaí beich<sup>u</sup>,  
 ir a (b)-toðairé dó ar én leie.

Ní óligéano aét máó ríne  
 ó ríí Teampá tonn-glaine<sup>u</sup>  
 acur a deirim fód óí  
 ní h-inano rín ir neméhn<sup>u</sup>.

Ar rín céib roime d'á chíí<sup>u</sup>  
 ríí Cuailíu cur na caéaib<sup>u</sup>;  
 iar n-airírim a airéar  
 do fógail<sup>u</sup> a éuapairail.

Do rí Rácha Móir Muíí  
 óligíó ro chíuó, rííraibí;  
 oáíí<sup>u</sup> iré ir uairle airéar  
 ir ar turca euapiréol<sup>u</sup>.

Óligíó—cé [f]íarfaibí<sup>u</sup> rín?  
 mínba h-é éur rí ar Uleabí<sup>u</sup>,

which prove the exact meaning of the word, see the Editor's translation of the second part of the Annals of the Four Masters, note 8 under the year 1587, p. 1446. The protection of the red-hot javelin means that the king of Uladh was as untouchable

as if he were a flaming sword or javelin; and, therefore, any who sought his protection were absolutely safe.

<sup>1</sup> *Gaileanga*.—See p. 188, n. 1, *suprà*.

<sup>2</sup> *Breagh*.—See page 11, note 2, and page 178, note 2, *suprà*.

The Gaileanga<sup>1</sup> [shall be] under rent [for the support] of his steeds;

The men of Breagh<sup>2</sup> under the troops of his horsemen;

If he be at Teamhair of tribes

It is known that these are of his true territories.

His portion in the house of Teamhair,

Wherefor he should be of great cheerfulness,

[Is] three score beeves, twenty pigs,

Twenty tinnes (salted pigs) for his mighty people (the Ullta).

Twenty handfuls of leeks, methinks,

Twenty eggs of gulls along with them,

Twenty baskets (hives) in which are bees,

And all to be given to him together.

He is entitled only to that

From the king of fair-surfaced Teamhair ;

And I say it twice (i. e. emphatically),

That is not the same as nothing.

Then forward to his mansion goeth

The king of Cuailghne<sup>1</sup> with the battalions;

[And] after resting from his journey

To distribute his stipends.

To the king of Rath Mor Muighe<sup>m</sup>

Is due great [and] kingly wealth;

For he is of the noblest on the journey

And the first who receives his stipend.

Entitled is he—shall any ask it?

Unless he be king over the men of Uladh,

<sup>1</sup> *King of Cuailghne*, i. e. of Uladh or Ulster, from Cuailghne, the remarkable chain of mountains of that name in the ancient Uladh, though now a part of modern Leinster, in the north of the county of

Louth. See p. 21, note <sup>r</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>m</sup> *Rath Muighe*, i. e. the king of Magh Line, in which the chief residence was called Rath Mor Muighe Line. See page 170, note <sup>b</sup>, *suprà*.

ocht m-bruit uatha acur dá luing  
co ríath n-gel ar gach n-gualaino.

Fichehill acur bhranubh bán  
ocht (g)-cuinn acur ocht (g)-copáin,  
ocht mílchoim acur ocht n-eich  
acur ocht fleaga ar éin-leith<sup>o</sup>.

Olíghó ní Muigi Cobha<sup>1</sup>  
na n-arn n-éabrom, n-iméana  
ocht<sup>2</sup> mílchoim acur ocht<sup>3</sup> n-eich  
acur ocht n-gaibra ar glan reith<sup>4</sup>.

Olíghó Eogan fluargeo leir,  
acur Conall cean éirleir,  
fáir nocho n-fellaio a n-oáil<sup>5</sup>,  
ireó óleagaio beith o'aen láim.

Olíghó ní Aingiall<sup>6</sup> a each  
tar ceano a gíall,—ní gu bpeat,  
acur olíghó Conall cam  
ruioi cach dú ar a bétan<sup>7</sup>.

Olíghó ní h-Ua m-Bruiuin miabach  
a each Fhargcach pír miabach:  
olíghó ní Conmaicne coin  
each acur roga n-éuag<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Magh Cobha*.—As to this plain see the note on Cobha, page 165, n. <sup>2</sup>, *suprà*, and see the Editor's translation of the Annals of the Four Masters, note <sup>3</sup>, under the year 1188, and note <sup>4</sup>, under the year 1252, p. 344.

<sup>5</sup> *Eoghan*, i. e. the Cineal Eoghain or race of Eoghan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, who possessed a great part of Ulster at this period. See p. 34, n. <sup>5</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>6</sup> *Conall*, i. e. of the Cineal Chonaill, or race of Conall Gulban, who at this period

possessed the greater part of what now forms the county of Donegal. See p. 34, n. <sup>6</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>7</sup> *Oirghialla*.—See pp. 184, 140, note <sup>7</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ui Briuin*.—There was a tribe and territory of this name in Ulster in St. Patrick's time, as we learn from the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, published by Colgan, part iii. c. i. *Trias Thaum.*, p. 149; and Colgan thinks that the region so called in St. Patrick's time, was styled Muintir-



To eight colored cloaks and two ships,  
With a bright shield on each shoulder.

To a chess-board and white chess-men,  
Eight drinking-horns and eight cups,  
Eight greyhounds and eight steeds  
And eight lances, together.

Entitled is the king of Magh Cobha<sup>a</sup>  
Of the light and thin-edged weapons  
To eight greyhounds and eight steeds  
And eight mares in fine running order.

Eoghan<sup>o</sup> is bound to go on a hosting with him,  
And Conall<sup>p</sup> without neglect,  
Against him they shall not act treacherously at the meeting,  
They are bound to be of one hand (i. e. of one mind).

Entitled is the king of Oirghialla<sup>a</sup> to his steed.  
On account of his hostages,—it is no false award,  
And the mild Conall is entitled  
To sit at every place before his face (i. e. in front of him).

Entitled is the king of the noble Ul Briuin<sup>r</sup>  
To his truly noble French steed:  
Entitled is the king of the fair Conmaicne<sup>e</sup>  
To a steed and choice raiment.

Birn in his own time. His note is as follows:

"*Ad regionem, quæ Aquilonaris Hi-Briuin appellatur.* c. i. Videtur esse regio Diocesis Ardmachana in *Tir-eoguin*, quo vulgò *Muintir Birn* appellatur: et nomen illud sortita a Bruino filio *Muredachi Meith*, filii Imchadai, filii Collæ Dachrioch. Posterius enim hujus Collæ, postea Orgiellii dicti latè in isto tractu tempore Patrick dominabantur. Dicitur autem hæc regio Hi-Bruinia Aquilonaris a comparatione aliarum diver-

sarum regionum Connacis, quæ Hi-Bruiniæ priscis temporibus nominabantur, et aliquæ ex eis respectu hujus sunt Australes, aliæ Occidentales."—*Trias Thaum.*, page 184. Muintir-Birn, the territory here referred to by Colgan, is shown on an old map of Ulster preserved in the State Papers Office, as situate in the barony of "Dungan-non" in Tyrone, and separated from the territory of "Trough," by the River Black-water.

<sup>a</sup> *Conmaicne*.—This was evidently the

Ir airí do berte rin dóib.  
 ní Ulaó an airí an t-éin, mór<sup>70</sup>  
 co m-beid a (b)-trepí 'n-a chíg  
 co (b)-ceasta leir co Teamair<sup>70</sup> . . . . . C.

GEASA níg Ulaó<sup>80</sup> Eamha  
 acur a lano lán chalma<sup>81</sup>  
 bula dó a (g)-ceano doiri thuir<sup>82</sup>,  
 ae-<sup>83</sup>-feacht d'aicirín d'á fuabairt<sup>83</sup>.

Eitreachte né h-énlaith glinbi  
 Lacha Saileach, raer binoi<sup>84</sup>,  
 rothrucaó delltaine thair  
 ar fino Loch<sup>85</sup> álaino fíabail.

Ac rin a geata cruaidí  
 áirí-níg cóició Chraeb Ruaidí;  
 má dá n-deáirna co gnáth rin  
 ní géda co bráth Teamair. . . . . C.

DO DUAÓAIÓ<sup>86</sup> níg Ulaó uill,  
 coinnéas a Cháir<sup>87</sup> a (g)-Caen-<sup>88</sup>ruim,  
 a maí<sup>89</sup> (b)-Cailein tpe gail<sup>88</sup>,  
 Eamain ac á ingenaib<sup>89</sup>.

COBLACH aicí for<sup>90</sup> Loch Cuan,  
 cleamnar né níg Gall glan uap<sup>91</sup>,

Conmaicne who were seated in Magh Rein, in the south of the county of Leitrim, and in the county of Longford; but these, though of the ancient Uilta or Clanna Rudhraidhe, were not considered as in the province of Ulster for many centuries.

<sup>70</sup> *Doire tuirc*, i. e. the oakwood, or retreat, of the hog or wild boar.

<sup>80</sup> *Loch Saileach*.—This is evidently intended for Loch Suileach, *Anglicé* "Lough Swilly," the arm of the sea running into the county of Donegal. The valley here

referred to is Gleann Suilighe (Glenswilly), near Litear Ceannaighe (Letterkenny), through which the River Suileach (Swilly) flows. See p. 23, and n. 7, *ib.*; the same *geis* occurs there, and thus Linn Saileach is identified.

<sup>91</sup> *Loch Feabhail*, "Lough Foyle" (the arm of the sea running between Donegal and Derry), i. e. the lake of Feabhal, son of Lodan, one of the Tuatha De Danann colony. See poem on Aileach, published in the Ordnance Memoir of Templemore.

The reason that these are given them

By the king of Uladh of the mighty [and] great arms,  
[Is] that their strength might be in his house,  
That they may go with him to Teamhair. . . TEAMHAIR.

THE RESTRICTIONS of the king of the Ultonian Eamhain

And of his very brave sword [are]

To go into a wild boar's haunt<sup>1</sup>,

[Or] to be seen to attack it alone.

To listen to the birds of the valley

Of Loch Saileach<sup>2</sup>, the nobly melodious,

To bathe on May-day eastwards

In the bright and beautiful Loch Feabhail<sup>3</sup>.

Such are the hard restrictions

Of the supreme king of the province of the Red Branch<sup>4</sup>;

If he usually practise those [forbidden things],

He shall never obtain Teamhair. . . . . TEAMHAIR.

OF THE PREROGATIVES of the great king of Uladh, [viz.]

To keep his Easter at Caen-druim<sup>5</sup>,

His stewards [to be] at Taillte<sup>6</sup> through valor,

Eamhain [to be] in the possession of his daughters.

That he have a fleet on Loch Cuan<sup>7</sup>,

[Galls,

To form a marriage alliance with the king of the fine cold

<sup>4</sup> *The province of the Red Branch*, i. e. the province of Uladh or Ulster, from the house of the Craebh Ruadh, or Red Branch, near Ard Macha (Armagh), so celebrated in Irish stories.

<sup>5</sup> *Caen-druim*.—This was the old name of the hill of Uisneach, near Baile Mor Locha Seimhdidhe (Ballymore Loughsewdy), in the county of Westmeath. See *Annals of the Four Masters, Anno Mundi*, 3370. See page 6, note 5, *suprà*.

<sup>6</sup> *Taillte, Anglicè* Teltown, in the county

of Meath, nearly midway between the towns of Navan and Kells. See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, c. 13, and the Editor's letter on the parish of "Donaghpatrick," in the county of Meath (now preserved at the Ordnance Survey Office, Phoenix Park), in which the present remains at Taillte are described. See page 204, n. 7, *suprà*.

<sup>7</sup> *Loch Cuan*. See page 164, note 4, *suprà*, and Colgan's *Trias Thaum.*, page 19, note 45. The name has sometimes been Anglicized into "Lough Cone."

Eanach<sup>a</sup> Caein do b'eirh fá blaíð,  
acur a maíir a (v)-Teamair<sup>b</sup>. T[eamáir, teač].

OLIGIO RÍ NÁIS, anora,  
pleaó<sup>a</sup> aóbal, nach uruópa,  
fichi daðach do cach lino  
co n-a (b)-fuirpeac<sup>b</sup> ór a éino.

Tuariréal riú Laignean Luíhc  
ó riú Teamrach in tnean fuirpe<sup>b</sup>  
a óream-ra, mar aetá iriú,  
ir leam-ra ietá do meaðair<sup>b</sup>.

Céb mac uirriú ir buan blaíð<sup>a</sup>  
leir co tua na<sup>b</sup> Teamrac,  
ingean aentuiná cach fíir,  
éðach caeðeana i (v)-Teamair. . . . . T.

seacht (b)-CARDAID ar<sup>100</sup> a m-bia ór,  
neach beirpear leir co cómól,  
peacht (b)-fichit éðach daetá  
fó chómair mac n-áru-platha.

Ar<sup>101</sup> rin tén poime d'á chiú  
riú Laignin cup na laecharið<sup>102</sup>,  
co poitir dúin Náir iar n-airtear<sup>103</sup>,  
co (b)-foðail a chuairteail.

Máó ac Ceinorealaið<sup>104</sup> epóða  
biar in flaitir fíir mópa<sup>105</sup>,  
ir leo flaithear<sup>106</sup> a éruio charín  
do mac-riú ir da<sup>107</sup> riúgarð.

OLIGIO RÍ h-Ua Faelán rinu  
peacht<sup>108</sup> m-bruit daetá im cach déir lino

<sup>a</sup> *Eanach Caein*, i. e. the beautiful marsh.  
There are various places of this name in  
Ulster, and it is not easy to determine  
which of them is here referred to.

<sup>b</sup> *King of Nas*, i. e. of Laignin or Leinster, from Nas (Naas), one of the seats of the kings of that province; see pp. 9, 202.

<sup>c</sup> *Laignin of Lorc*. — The province of

Eanach Caein<sup>a</sup> to be under his control,  
And his stewards to be at Teamhair. . . . . TEAMHAIR.

ENTITLED IS THE KING OF NAS<sup>b</sup>, now,  
To a great banquet, not easy [to be procured],  
Twenty vats of each kind of drink  
With the accompaniment of viands besides.

The stipend of the king of Laighin of Lorc<sup>c</sup>  
From the king of Teamhair of the mighty fort;  
O ye people, who are in the house,  
By me it is borne in memory.

A hundred sons of petty-kings of lasting fame  
With him [go] to the district of Teamhair,  
A maiden, of age to be married, for each man,  
[And] fine textured clothes at Teamhair. . . TEAMHAIR.

SEVEN CHARIOTS on which is gold [ornament],  
Which he brings with him to the banquet,  
Seven score suits of clothes of [good] color  
For the use of the sons of the great chieftains.

Then forward to his house goeth  
The king of Laighin with the heroes,  
Till he reaches the fortress of Nas after a journey,  
Till he distributes his stipends.

If with the brave Ui Ceinnsealaigh<sup>d</sup>  
The truly majestic sovereignty shall be,  
Theirs is the dominion of [distributing] its fair wealth  
To the princes and to the kings.

Entitled is the king of fair Uí Faelain<sup>e</sup>  
To seven colored cloaks with as many good mantles

Leinster is here so called from Laeghaire <sup>f</sup>, *suprà*.

Lorc, one of its ancient kings.

<sup>d</sup> Uí Ceinnsealaigh.—See page 208, note

<sup>e</sup> Uí Faelain.—See page 205, n. <sup>a</sup>, and

p. 222, n. <sup>b</sup>, on Magh Laighean, *suprà*.

acur ceithrí longa ar<sup>100</sup> loch  
co m-beò co<sup>110</sup> corra a òblach.

Olighò ní h-Ua Fáilgí [f]uar  
ceithrí rcéir baéa—ir deágh luag<sup>111</sup>,  
ceithrí cuirn caáa baéa<sup>112</sup>,  
ceithrí claidiúim cruasó caéa<sup>113</sup>.

Olighò ní Oghaíó áh  
bá mslchoim déc co n-deagáil,  
bá each déc bó, cean aipe<sup>118</sup>,  
co (g)-carbadaib deágh maíre<sup>113</sup>.

Rígh h-Ua Cenbrealaig ná (g)-cpeach<sup>114</sup>  
léir cumar eigi Teampach,  
iré reo<sup>115</sup> a píir in cach ehan  
uair iré teach níg Laignean.

Olighò ní h-Ua n-Tabla n-geap  
fáinói óir im cach n-én mór;  
acur fáil óir, o'n geal gual,  
olighò níg fino ná (b)-Forthuath.

GEASA<sup>116</sup> níg Laignean ad chim,  
cach do uagha fair 'n-a chíir<sup>117</sup>,  
acur Doill o'airnéir im rind<sup>118</sup>,  
acur a géill co<sup>119</sup> Duiblinó,

Rígh ar aibí cean péagáó<sup>120</sup>,  
Caemgin can a chóiméagáó<sup>121</sup>,  
cean teacht co Náir<sup>122</sup> pé lino láin  
do gearaib in níg no náir.

ORIGIO do péir im a rath  
do buadaib ná níg<sup>123</sup> Laigneach,

<sup>1</sup> *Ui Failghe*. — See page 216, note r,  
*suprà*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ui Ceinnsealaigh*. — See page 208, note

<sup>8</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>h</sup> *Ui Gabhla*. — This territory is men-  
tioned in the Annals of the Four Masters

And four ships upon the sea  
So that his fleet may be increased [complete].

Entitled is the king of cold Ui Failghe<sup>f</sup>  
To four colored shields—it is a good stipend,  
Four drinking-horns of various color,  
Four hard swords of battle.

Entitled is the noble king of Osraidhe (Ossory)  
To twelve greyhounds of goodly breed,  
Twelve steeds to him, without abatement,  
With choice good chariots.

The king of Ui Ceinnsealaigh of the preys<sup>g</sup>  
Has the power of the house of Teamhair,  
This is the truth at every period  
For it is the house of the king of Laighin.

Entitled is the king of sharp Ui Gabhla<sup>h</sup>  
To a ring of gold upon every finger;  
And a ring of gold, bright from the fire,  
Is due to the fair king of the Forthuatha<sup>i</sup>.

THE RESTRICTIONS of the king of Laighin I see,  
A battle to be proclaimed on him in his territory,  
And the Galls (foreigners) to defy him even to the sword,  
And [to take] his hostages to Duibhlinn (Dublin).

The king not to respect his tutor,  
Not to defer to Caeimghin, (i. e. St. Kevin),  
Not to come to Nas with a full retinue  
Are among the prohibitions of that very noble king.

BRIGHID<sup>j</sup> to obey for her favor  
Is among the buadha [prerogatives] of the Leinster kings;

at the year 1072, but nothing has been  
discovered as yet to show where they were  
located.

<sup>f</sup> *Forthuatha*. — See page 207, note <sup>d</sup>,  
*supra*.

<sup>j</sup> *Brighid*, i. e. Brighid Chille Dara, "St.

beé nó fá chír in a chíg,  
 bóla cach mír co Teamhair<sup>144</sup>. . . . . T[eamhair]

OLIGÍO RÍ CAISIL na (g)-cneach  
 uula co eua<sup>135</sup> Teamrach  
 dá fíchit cairpeach<sup>136</sup> male,  
 do charbéanaó a fleóe<sup>137</sup>.

OLIGÍO RÍ Teamrach na (o)-cor.  
 uula<sup>138</sup> cóimlín rin leirín,  
 acur cean mac athaig and,  
 do charéam fleiói Epann<sup>139</sup>.

OLIGÍO a<sup>140</sup> (o)-Teamair Luachra  
 níg Muimán na<sup>141</sup> mór thuatha  
 deich n-baécha fícheaó, nó fear,  
 co n-a (b)-fuirne<sup>142</sup> ir fír lea<sup>143</sup>.

OLIGÍO recheamain éiar iréig<sup>144</sup>  
 1 (o)-Teamair Luachra Deaigíó<sup>145</sup>,  
 'r can uula ar ar aréar<sup>146</sup>  
 nó co (b)-fogla a<sup>147</sup> chuairéal.

Ir h-é reo in tuairptol teano  
 oleaig<sup>148</sup> ó áiré-níg Epeano,  
 ocht n-ech, ocht (g)-capbaid fó chuing<sup>149</sup>,  
 ocht (b)-fáilgi acur ocht (g)-caem éuirn.

Ocht (b)-fíchid bnat do bnatáib,  
 ocht fíeich gela ór glan glacai<sup>150</sup>  
 peacht<sup>151</sup> peppacha na fíeich pláin<sup>152</sup>  
 ipeacht (b)-fíchit bó beannan<sup>153</sup>.

Coirí uad do níg Cairil<sup>154</sup>  
 ó níg Teamra, in érean cairic<sup>155</sup>,

Bridget of Kildare," the patroness of Laignin or ancient Leinster.

<sup>k</sup> *Earna*.—This was the name of a people in South Munster, descended from Óilioll

Earann, son of Fiacha, son of Aenghus Tuirmheach, monarch of Ireland, A. M. 3787. See O'Fla. *Ogygia*, part iii. c. 40.

<sup>l</sup> *Teamhair Luachra*, or *Teamhair* of



To be tributary to her in his house,  
To repair every month to Teamhair. . . . . TEAMHAIR.

**BOUND IS THE KING OF CAISEAL** of preys

To go to the district of Teamhair  
Accompanied by two score chariots,  
To display there his banquet.

Bound is the king of Teamhair of lords  
To go [taking] the same number with him,  
And no son of a plebeian there,  
To eat the feast of the Earna<sup>1</sup>.

**Bound at Teamhair Luachra<sup>1</sup>**

Is the king of Mumha (Munster) of great lordships  
[To give] thirty vats, it is known,  
With such viands as are suitable.

He is bound to stay a week in the west, within,  
At Teamhair Luachra Deaghaidh<sup>1</sup>,  
And not to go from thence on a journey,  
Until he distributes his stipends.

This is the great stipend  
Which is due from the supreme king of Eire,  
Eight steeds, eight chariots fully yoked,  
Eight rings and eight fair drinking-horns.

Eight score of cloaks,  
Eight bright shields over fine hands,  
Seven plough-yokes in full series,  
And seven score short-horned cows.

A cauldron is given to the king of Caiseal  
By the king of Teamhair, the mighty chief,

Luachair Deaghaidh. It was also called Teamhair Earann, i. e. Temoria Earannorum, from the people of whose country it

was the royal residence. See last note, also page 90; note <sup>x</sup>, *suprd*, on Teamhair Shubha.

atabeart mar oleagar ehná  
 'r-a breich<sup>146</sup> i (o-)Ceannair Luachra.

Ar rin foðlaib níg Mumhan  
 na (g)-cath ir na (g)-céat cupaó  
 do lucht a n-ghnám éanbaio gail<sup>147</sup>  
 iur níg acur níghain<sup>148</sup>.

Ocht n-eich maichí ar a m-bia ghráo  
 olígió ní na n-Deir náir<sup>149</sup>  
 ir ocht m-bruit uaine male,  
 co n-ocht n-veilgió pindroime.

Olígió níg h-Ua Liathán lip  
 ocht (g)-cuirín acur ocht (g)-claióim  
 acur ocht n-eich maichí dó  
 ó níg Cairil, can chlaechló<sup>150</sup>.

Olígió níg h-Ua n-Eathach n-oll  
 lúipeach acur gail<sup>151</sup> i (g)-cómlonn  
 acur dá fálaig o'gh bearg<sup>152</sup>  
 acur dá each nach bpoth beaóc.

Olígió ní Dairine duino  
 ó ní Cairil in chómlaino  
 ocht (g)-claióim córra chacha,  
 ocht longa ir ocht lúipeacha.

Do ní Lacha Léin leðair  
 olígió cumain cháirbeamail<sup>153</sup>,

<sup>146</sup> *Deise*.—See page 184, note <sup>14</sup>, *supra*.

<sup>147</sup> *Ui Liathain*.—See page 72, note <sup>2</sup>, *supra*.

<sup>148</sup> *Ui Eathach*, i. e. of *Ui Eathach Mumhan*, the descendants of Eochaidh, son of Caa, son of Corc, king of Munster, son of Lughaidh, the fourth in descent from Oilioll Olum, king of Munster. Their territory originally comprised the barony of "Kinel-

meaky," in the county of Cork, and they afterwards encroached on Corca Luighe, and became masters of the district called Fonn Iartharach, which is called "Ivahagh," on several old maps made in the reign of Elizabeth and James I., and comprises the parishes of "Kilmoe, Scool, Kilmohane, Durris, Kilmacanoge, and Caheragh," in the south-west of the county

To be presented in due form,  
And to be brought to Teamhair Luachra.

Then distributes the king of Mumha  
Of the battles and of the hundreds of champions  
[His stipends] among the people of stout valorous deeds,  
Both kings and queens.

Eight good steeds of high distinction  
Are due to the king of the noble Deise<sup>m</sup>  
And eight green cloaks besides,  
With eight pins of findroine (carved silver).

Entitled is the king of Ui Liathain<sup>a</sup> of the sea  
To eight drinking-horns and eight swords  
And eight good steeds [given] to him  
From the king of Caiseal, without change.

Entitled is the king of the great Ui Eathach<sup>o</sup>  
To a coat of mail and a spear for combat  
And to two rings of red gold  
And two steeds of no bad temper.

Entitled is the king of brown Dairine<sup>p</sup> (Dairfhine)  
From the king of Caiseal of the conflicts  
To eight polished swords of battle,  
Eight ships and eight coats of mail.

To the king of extensive Loch Lein<sup>a</sup>  
Is due a friendly return,

of Cork. See *Liber Regalis Visitationis* of 1615. After the establishment of surnames the chief family of this tribe took the surname of O'Mathghamhna, *Anglice* O'Mahony, and the name is still common and respectable in Munster. See note <sup>k</sup>, on Raithlinn, p. 59, *suprà*.

<sup>p</sup>*Dairine*, otherwise Dairfhine, the tribe of O'h-Eidirsceoil (the O'Driscolls), and their

correlatives. See page 64, note <sup>n</sup>, and page 46, note <sup>k</sup>, *suprà*; and Keating's History of Ireland, Haliday's edition, p. 186.

<sup>a</sup> *King of Loch Lein*, i. e. of Eoghanacht Lochia Lein. After the establishment of surnames the chief family of this tribe took the surname of O'Donnchadha, *Anglice* O'Donohoe, O'Donoghoe, &c. See page 59, note <sup>l</sup>, *suprà*.

ficí bó acur<sup>144</sup> fichi eac,  
fichi long dó—ní spoch breach.

Ólúgíó ní Ciarraíó in chnuic  
fichi each—ní fáth áro uile,  
acur éirí fichio bó bán  
acur éirí fichie<sup>145</sup> copán.

Ólúgíó ní h-Ua Conaill chain  
erriú Cárc ó ríú Cairil,  
a llann lúgá co lí n-ólóin<sup>146</sup>  
acur a gáí 'n-a óeagáid<sup>147</sup>.

Ólúgíó ní Eile, map tá,  
a chíp raep co Sliabh Ólaomé,  
ache, minn theachta cath coin,  
eachera fair [gan eachera B.] reach each ríghaig<sup>148</sup>.

Ir aipe rin do beir dóib  
ní Múman an aigúg móir<sup>149</sup>  
ir de bur buideach na fir  
can a (b)-fuireach i (b)-Teamair. . . . . C.

TRÍ DUAÓDÁ ríú Cairil óain  
rígan aici a Conbacheaib,  
loingear aici ar S(h)inainn pláin  
acur Cairil do cóngbáil.

A éirí oimbuasá ar<sup>150</sup> rin  
oath d'fuaigra uas ar Laignib  
a choimneas a (g)-Cairil chain  
acur gan dul co Teamair. . . . . [TEAMAIR C.]

<sup>1</sup> *Ciarraidhe of the hill*, i. e. Ciarraidhe Luachra. See page 48, note <sup>1</sup>, *supra*. The mountains of Sliabh Luachra are in this territory.

<sup>2</sup> *Ui Chonaill*, i. e. Ui Chonaill Gabhra. See page 76, note <sup>c</sup>, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> *Eile*.—See page 78, note <sup>1</sup>, *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> *Sliabh Bladhma*, *Anglicised* *Slieve Bloom*,

Twenty cows and twenty steeds,  
Twenty ships to him—no had a ward.

Entitled is the king of Ciarraidhe of the hill<sup>a</sup>  
To twenty steeds—no cause of great evil,  
And threes score white cows  
And three score cups.

Entitled is the king of fair Uí Chonaill<sup>a</sup>  
To an Easter dress from the king of Caiseal,  
His beautiful sword of shining lustre,  
And his spear along with it.

Entitled is the king of Eile<sup>a</sup>, so it happens,  
To [have] his country free as far as Sliabh Bladhma<sup>a</sup>,  
And, unless when he makes battles for himself,  
He is exempt from furnishing forces beyond each other  
king.

It is for that reason that to them  
The king of Mumha of the great mind cedes it;  
It is therefore the men are thankful,  
Not to send their feast to Teamhair. . . . . TEAMHAIR.

THE THREE PREROGATIVES of the king of fair Caiseal  
[are].

To have a queen out of Connacht,  
To have a fleet on the ample Sionainn (Shannon),  
And to maintain Caiseal.

His three dimbuadha (misfortunes) then [are]  
To proclaim battle upon the men of Laighin,  
To feast his visitors at fair Caiseal,  
And not to go to Teamhair [Luachra]. . . . . TEAMHAIR.

<sup>a</sup> a mountain which divides Eile Uí Chearbhaill (Ely O'Carroll), in the present King's

County from "Upper Ossory," in the present Queen's County.

DULGID<sup>10</sup> ó flaithe Luimniúg lín  
 fleadó aipeadó, forbailig,  
 deich n-bádcha ficeadó, no fear,  
 co n-a (b)-fuiricac ré fíe leat.

Rí Tuad Muman in coraid  
 dlígíó cùmain cháirveamail,  
 eirí deich m-bó<sup>101</sup> acur dá céat each,  
 eirí fáilgí d'óir<sup>102</sup>, ní oroch breath.

Ceithrí longa ré laidíng,—  
 gá ead ní h-óro anafóinn,—  
 dá fciath im cach luing sib-rín,  
 dá laio acur dá lúirig.

Ní dlígíeand acé méó ríne<sup>103</sup>  
 flaithe Luimniúg a Liachmúine,  
 ir eadgort a ríú [iré reo a fíe B.] amach<sup>104</sup>,—  
 acur ingean ríú Teampach. . . . . C.

DULGID<sup>10</sup> ríú Chorpco daireino  
 ó ríú Tuad Muman eaircill  
 coru acur dá fíche each,  
 éobach in ríú<sup>105</sup>, ní gú breath.

Dlígíó uirpíg<sup>106</sup> Chorpampuoó  
 ó ríú Tuad Muman na (b)-tuath

<sup>v</sup> *Luimneach*.—This has been for many centuries exclusively the name of the city of Limerick ; but it appears from the Life of St. Carthach of Lismore, that it was originally applied to the estuary of the River Sionainn below the present city, now sometimes called "The Lower Shannon." The king of Luimneach is here put for king of Tuath Mhumha (Thomond). See the next note.

<sup>w</sup> *Tuath Mhumha*, i. e. North Munster, now *Anglicé* Thomond. According to Keating this territory extended from Leim Chonchulainn (Loop Head ; see p. 75, n. \*) to Bealach Mor ("Ballaghmore in Upper Ossory"), and from Sliabh Echtghe (Slieve Aughty, on the frontiers of the counties of Clare and Galway, see *Ui Maine*, page 91, note <sup>k</sup>) to Sliabh Eibhlinne (now Sleibhte Fheidhlimidh, in the county of

HE IS ENTITLED from the chief of Luimneach<sup>v</sup> of the sea,  
To a splendid, cheering banquet,  
Thirty vats, it is known,  
With the necessary viands.

The king of productive Tuath Mhumha<sup>v</sup>  
Is entitled to friendly fidelity,  
To thrice ten cows and two hundred steeds,  
Three rings of gold, no bad award.

Four ships with a boat,  
Even this is not an unpleasant order,  
Two shields with each ship of these,  
Two swords and two coats of mail.

There is due but only this much  
To the chief of Luimneach from Liathmhuine<sup>x</sup>,  
This is the truth in full,—  
And the daughter of the king of Teamhair [Luachra]. . T.

ENTITLED is the king of Corca Bhaiscinn<sup>v</sup>  
From the king of Tuath Mhumha of the marchings  
To a drinking-horn and two score steeds,  
The king's apparel, no false award.

Entitled is the petty-king of Corcamruadh<sup>z</sup>  
From the king of Tuath Mhumha (Thomond) of the lordships

Tipperary). The southern boundary of this great territory is still preserved in that of the diocese of Killaloe.

<sup>x</sup> *Liathmhuine*.—This is the name of a celebrated place in the parish of "Kilgullane," in the territory of Feara Muighe, (Fermoy, in the county of Cork); but it seems irregularly introduced here as a distinguishing appellation of the king of Munster, when of the line of Eoghan, commonly call-

ed the Eugenian or Desmond line. It would apply very well when the king was of the line of the Ui Caeimh (O'Keeffes), of whom there was a king of Munster in 902, namely, Fionguine, son of Gorman, who died in that year.

<sup>v</sup> *Corca-Bhaiscinn*.—See page 48, note <sup>x</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>z</sup> *Corcamruadh*.—See page 65, note <sup>x</sup>, *suprà*.

a roga luingí ar ló ar<sup>167</sup> feacht,  
 dá céat bó acur a beanocht.

Ingean riú Tuas Muman tene  
 do riú Chopcompuasó beirim,  
 coma h-í a bean ar cach leath  
 ar (b)-tocht á (b)-tíú riú Teamrach<sup>168</sup>. **τ[emair]**.

ḡeasa riú Luimniú leathain  
 ainimair<sup>169</sup> [a máir, B.] ór áiré-eaíab,  
 beith triúr i n-a chocar chaim,  
 acur a rún pé riúain.

Aíao a buaó in riú ríath  
 nonbar 'n-a chocar co maíe,  
 raíga dealba air iareain,  
 acur a méanma<sup>170</sup> a (b)-Teamair. . . . **τ[emair]**.

Uligiú flaiti cruachan, ná ceil<sup>171</sup>,  
 dá fichit uabach ac<sup>172</sup> fleiú  
 acur can uil uaitiú<sup>173</sup> ann  
 ó riú uaral na h-Éirio.

Uligiú ní ḡaela in gora  
 a chomain uabá<sup>174</sup> anóra,  
 tri<sup>175</sup> fichiú bó, dá céad each,  
 ceithri fáilgi—ní bpoth breath.

Ceithri cuirn im a m-bia ór,  
 neach beipear leir co cóimól,  
 ir a (b)-fágáil éiar 'n-a<sup>176</sup> thiú  
 do flaiti Cruachan in cúiriú<sup>177</sup>.

Ceithri rcéith deapga datha,  
 ceithri caethbairi cóimóga,  
 ceithri lúipeacha 'n-a n-diaíú,  
 ceithri pleasga co<sup>178</sup> rár ḡliaiú.

<sup>167</sup> *Gaela*, i. e. the king of Connacht, who  
 is here called of Gacla, the seat of O'Lomain,

in Ui Maine. This name is now obsolete,  
 but it appears from several references to it



To his choice ship on a day of voyage,  
Two hundred cows and his blessing.

The daughter of the king of powerful Tuath Mhumha  
To the king of Corcamruadh I give,  
So that she is his wife in every respect  
On his coming into the house of the king of Teamhair (Lu-  
achra.) . . . . . TEAMHAIR.

THE RESTRICTIONS of the king of wide Luimneach [are]  
To have his stewards on his noble steeds,  
To have but three in his kindly confidence,  
And [that he should] communicate his secret to his queen.

The prerogatives of this gifted king are  
That nine should be in his full confidence,  
That he be of beautiful form,  
And that he aspire to Teamhair. . . . . TEAMHAIR.

BOUND IS THE KING OF CRUACHAIN, conceal it not,  
To give two score vats at the banquet,  
And not to depart from them there  
From the noble king of Eire.

The king of Gaels<sup>a</sup> of substance  
Is entitled to his return now,  
Three score cows, two hundred steeds,  
Four rings,—it is no bad award.

Four drinking-horns on which is gold,  
Which he brings with him to the banquet,  
And to leave them in the west, in his house,  
With the prince of Cruachain of the host.

Four shields of red color,  
Four helmets of equal color,  
Four coats of mail after them,  
Four lances for valiant combat.

that it was near Loch Riach, or Loughrea, Maine, page 34, note c, and Annals of the  
in Galway. See Tribes and Customs of Ulster, Four Masters at the year 945.

ḐEIS ó Chpuacha<sup>179</sup> d'fár fó éirí,  
 buaió ó loingear for<sup>180</sup> Loch Rí;  
 máó oia n-deárna reach each rin  
 gebaió ré co gnát<sup>181</sup> Teamair. . . . . [C.]

OLIGIÓ ní h-Ua Máine mór<sup>182</sup>  
 ceithrí cuirín díb ré cómól<sup>183</sup>,  
 fichi bó acur<sup>184</sup> fichi each  
 éoach dá céat,—ní gú breath.

OLIGIÓ ní h-Ua Fiachrach fino  
 ceithrí longá ré laithing,  
 [deic mná ficeab, aithli, dúir,  
 acur éirí cuirín ou cónnaib.]

[OLIGIÓ ní na (o)-Tuat Teorac,  
 gean gu (b)-feter aneolac],  
 fichi mairt ip fichi muc,  
 fichi eindí co tréan lucht<sup>185</sup>.

OLIGIÓ ní Luighn lágaio  
 ceithrí rcéith co comraímaib<sup>186</sup>,  
 ceithrí h-inair co n-ór [n]-dearg,  
 ceithrí longá, ní oroch beaóg.

Ní oligeano acht máó fine  
 ó ní Cpuachan in cathaioe<sup>187</sup>;  
 oleagáio óó cach dáil mar rin  
 acur a n-dáil co Teamair. . . . . T[emair].

<sup>b</sup> *Loch Rí*, otherwise called *Loch Ribh* (*Lough Ree*), a celebrated lake formed by an expansion of the River *Sionainn* (*Shannon*), between *Ath Luain* (*Athlone*) and *Lanesborough*.—See *Tribes and Customs of Ui Maine*, page 10, note <sup>y</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> *Ui Maine*.—See page 106, note <sup>p</sup>, *supra*, and *Tribes of Ui Maine*, pp. 4, 5, 6, and the map to the same work.

<sup>d</sup> *Ui Fiachrach Finn*, i. e. the descendants of *Fiachra Fionn*, the eldest son of *Breasal*, son of *Maine Mor*, ancestor of all the *Ui Maine*. These were seated in *Maen-mhagh*, a fertile territory lying round the town of *Loch Riach* (*Lough Reagh*), in the south of the county of *Galway*. See *Tribes and Customs of Ui Maine*, page 70, note <sup>z</sup>, and page 71, note <sup>c</sup>.

It is one of his restrictions that Cruachain should be thrice ravaged,

It is his prerogative to have a fleet on Loch Rib<sup>b</sup>;

If he observe each one of these,

He shall usually obtain Teamhair. . . . . TEAMHAIR.

ENTITLED is the king of great Ui Maine<sup>c</sup>

To four drinking-horns of them for the banquet,

To twenty cows and twenty steeds,

To two hundred suits of clothes,—not a false award.

Entitled is the king of Ui Fiachrach Fionn<sup>d</sup>

To four ships with a boat,

Thirty women, large [and] hardy,

And three drinking horns.

Entitled is the king of the Three Tuatha<sup>e</sup>,

Although the ignorant know it not,

To twenty beeves and twenty pigs,

Twenty tinnes (salted pigs) for his brave people.

Entitled is the king of Luighne<sup>f</sup> to reward,

To four shields for deeds of valor,

To four tunics with red gold,

To four ships, not a bad gift.

They are not entitled to more than this

From the king of Cruachain, the warrior;

All are thus mutually bound,

And to repair to Teamhair. . . . . TEAMHAIR.

<sup>c</sup> *Three Tuatha*.—Generally called Teora Tuatha, i. e. the Three Districts. These were Tír Briúin na Sionna, Cineal Dobhtha, and Corca Achlann. This tripartite territory, called the Teora Tuatha, formed a deanery in the diocese of Elphin, comprising ten parishes. After the establishment of surnames the chief of this territory, who had

his residence at Lissadorn, near Elphin, was O'Manchain (Monahan), but this family was dispossessed by the families of O'h-Ainlighe (O'Hanly) and O'Birn (O'Beirnes) in the thirteenth century; see the Editor's Ann. IV. Mag. ad A. D. 1189, p. 86, n. <sup>d</sup>, and Miscell. Ir. Arch. Soc., p. 274.

<sup>f</sup> *Luighne*.—See page 133, note <sup>h</sup>, *suprà*.

OLIGIÓ ní Míó in mapcaib  
 ó níg h-Éirinn co n-ápo bliad  
 reacht reirreacha cheibur éir  
 acur reacht (b)-fichit aillín.

OLIGIÓ níg breáig in múirip  
 fichi each,—ní h-ápo buóair,  
 acur ní cóir a réana,—  
 co n-éasairib n-imthréana.

OLIGIÓ níg na Sainne ró  
 each acur dá fichit bó,  
 uair ní lúgu a n-goiri amach  
 a choiri acur a daðach.

OLIGIÓ ní na n-Déirí anocht  
 fichi mapt ir fichi molt,  
 ir oligió ní Luighne ar rin  
 fichi each co raoballab.

OLIGIÓ ní Gaileanga gai  
 co n-a h-inorma o'óir chearbair  
 acur fíeí rrian rocal  
 oo chruan ir oo charmogal.

Ir amlaib rin oleagair de  
 tuairteol maithi Míde  
 acur gan a (g)-cleith pé. gail,  
 acur a m-bperth co Teamair. . . . . C.

GEASA níg Eogain 'n-a chíg  
 fígan aicí a Condachtaib,  
 a fíe pé h-Áraibí anall,  
 acur cacab pé Conall.

\* *Saithne*.—A territory in Fingall, formerly the patrimonial inheritance of the family of O'Cathasaigh, now *Anglicè* Casey. See page 187, note <sup>1</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>b</sup> *Deise*, i. e. Deise Teamhrach. — See

page 184, note <sup>n</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>1</sup> *Luighne*.—See page 186, n. <sup>9</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>1</sup> *Gaileanga*.—See page 188, n. <sup>7</sup>, *suprà*.

<sup>k</sup> *Of cruan*, i. e. ornamented with *cruan*.

The word *cruan* is explained, "buiòe

ENTITLED is the king of Midhe (Meath) the horseman  
 From the king of Eire of high fame  
 To seven plough-yokes, which plough the land,  
 And to seven score flocks.

Entitled is the king of Breagh of the [great] household  
 To twenty steeds,—no cause of grief,  
 And it is not right to deny it,—  
 With fine strong clothing.

Entitled is the king of Saithne<sup>4</sup> to this,  
 To a steed and to two score cows,  
 For his rising out is not less  
 Neither is his cauldron or his vat.

Entitled is the king of Deise<sup>5</sup>, to-night,  
 To twenty beeves and twenty wethers,  
 And entitled is the king of Luighne<sup>1</sup>, then,  
 To twenty steeds with saddles.

Entitled is the king of Gaileanga<sup>1</sup> to a javelin,  
 With its mounting of wrought gold,  
 And twenty splendid bridles  
 Of cruan<sup>2</sup> and carbuncle.

It is thus are due of him  
 The stipends of the chiefs of Midhe (Meath),  
 And not to be withheld by fraud,  
 And to be brought to Teamhair. . . . . TEAMHAIR.

THE PROHIBITIONS of the king of Eoghan<sup>1</sup> in his house  
 To have a queen out of Connacht, [are]  
 To make peace with the Dal Araidhe<sup>2</sup> ever,  
 And war with Conall<sup>3</sup>.

γ deupγ, " i. e. yellow and red, in old  
 Glossaries, i. e. orange.

<sup>1</sup> King of Eoghan, i. e. of the Cineal  
 Eoghain, or race of Eoghan, son of Niall  
 of the Nine Hostages. See page 34, note <sup>4</sup>,

*suprà*.

<sup>2</sup> Dal Araidhe.—See page 23, note <sup>2</sup>,  
*suprà*.

<sup>3</sup> Conall, i. e. with the Cineal Chonaill,  
 or inhabitants of the present county of Do-

Na aen ar théid roir ó thig  
 riú Láirí cup na laechaid,  
 fichi ech dó ar a airtear,  
 iré rin a thuairteol.

Rí Níme acur Talmán tén  
 co n-deápnóm uilí a oigéir,  
 co rodam co ténan 'n-a thig  
 dáig ir aibní ná Temair. . . . . Teamair.

negal.—See page 23, note P, *supra*. This prohibition against war, or necessity of peace, between the Cineal Eoghain and Ci-

neal Chonaill, was founded on experience, and it is curious to observe that the "war" made by Seann (Shane) O'Neill on the

Every one who goes eastward from the house  
Of the king of Laeise<sup>n</sup> with the heroes,  
Twenty steeds [are given] to him for his journey,  
That is his stipend.

The mighty King of Heaven and Earth  
May we all obey,  
May we be mighty in his house  
For it is more delightful than Teamhair. . . . TEAMHAIR.

Cineal Chonaill, in 1557, prepared the way to the ruin of the Cineal Eoghain; and the jealousy which subsisted between O'Neill and O'Domhnall (O'Donnell), at "Kinsale," in 1602, was the cause of the defeat and downfall of both races.

FINIT.



## VARIOUS READINGS,

SELECTED FROM THE BOOK OF BAILE AN MHTA (BALLYMOTE, MARKED B.) AS COMPARED  
WITH THE TEXT IN THE BOOK OF LEACAN (MARKED L.)

[See remarks in the Introduction, and further at the end of these Various Readings].

### VARIOUS READINGS

IN THE

ḡeasa agus duadha ríogh éireann.

	PAGE.		PAGE.
<sup>1</sup> for dhruim, . . . . .	2	.i. corpgair, . . . . .	4
<sup>2</sup> cupleim, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>18</sup> imbeect coigeap pleibí cua	ib.
<sup>3</sup> eich, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>19</sup> ríḡ connac̃t, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>4</sup> fan, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>20</sup> coirm, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>5</sup> ceabéa, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>21</sup> a fearra .i. . . . .	ib.
<sup>6</sup> bhuinne eich, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>22</sup> comluó, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>7</sup> ne ramain, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>23</sup> for ath caillte. . . . .	ib.
<sup>8</sup> ne m-belcaine, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>24</sup> annab, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>9</sup> bpi lẽt, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>25</sup> laicne, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>10</sup> uair, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>26</sup> ap̃o coicriú̃r ãa luain	
<sup>11</sup> an bliabain doimeala ñ		for ep̃om laige ceampa,	ib.
ceit a n-aip̃em t-raegail	ib.	<sup>27</sup> ãc̃t m̃. tẽc̃t ap̃ Dap̃ba, .	4
<sup>12</sup> r̃ep̃i, . . . . .	4	<sup>28</sup> en, . . . . .	6
<sup>13</sup> coirm, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>29</sup> rianzaib̃ lẽit iap̃ bun-	
<sup>14</sup> aipeag teopa fleab̃, . . . .	ib.	aip̃e, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>15</sup> raige ũm. n-aioche, . . . .	4	<sup>30</sup> daip̃e mic r̃iãc̃na, . . . .	6
<sup>16</sup> ban maige fene ag a ra-		<sup>31</sup> ãoall, . . . . .	ib.
raguó, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>32</sup> ep̃ic̃ao, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>17</sup> poceabal ceap̃e a caip̃el		<sup>33</sup> uãẽbar, . . . . .	ib.

" Luao a fuide a n-Uirneac  
 gacla uir.mob bliadain 7 a coma  
 olegar do gacl u.eo a n-Eirne don  
 fer Teampra do denum do rigaib  
 Eirne o rig Teampac jar anorin  
 acnagdear an eactra rig Team-  
 pra fo Eirinn uile 7 ar ann no  
 crenbair a raide a n-Uirneac 7 a  
 nubraing rig na cuiceb. Da ri  
 an luaidgeat buinde maib no bio  
 a laim gacla placla de op pag-  
 baib ina fuide ol an tan no  
 gleeab an fer Teampra 7 ni im-  
 luaidir placla na caingne gur in-  
 feact n-aile a cmo peat m-bliad-  
 an beor. Ar demen tra do  
 rigaib Eirne dia comiloir na  
 gearra rin 7 na buata ni biad  
 cuipel for a plaicemnar 7 ni  
 ticfad teidm na gopta na plaga  
 na h-eactraib 7 ni biad eptra for  
 a raegal. Cuan cc.<sup>a</sup>

To pay for his seat at Uisneach every seventh year, and the same is due of every province [provincial king] in Eire, in return for the Feis of Teamhair being made for the kings of Eire by the king of Teamhair; and it is there the chief sovereignty of the king of Teamhair over all Eire is reacknowledged [or renewed], and it was there they purchased their seats at Uisneach, and their recognition as kings of their provinces.

The price was a champion's ring, which used to be on the hand of each king, of gold. He used to leave it in his drinking seat when the Feis of Teamhair was consumed. And they adjudicated neither debts nor questions until another meeting at the end of seven years.

It is certain to the kings of Eire that, if they fulfil these restrictions and prerogatives, that there shall be no interruption to their reigns, and that neither pestilence nor famine, nor plague, nor strangers, shall overcome them; and that their lives shall not be short. Cuan cecinit.

<sup>a</sup> This reading should have been inserted in the text, as was done in a like case at pp. 186, 187. The reference 84, in page 6, is misplaced. From the word *luag*, L. [luao, B.] in page 6, to the word "cecinit," in page 8; *supra*; is all represented by the above extract from B.

	PAGE.		PAGE.
<sup>11</sup> ir me Ua Loéam, . . . . .	8	<sup>51</sup> alluó, . . . . .	18
<sup>26</sup> uairé, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>52</sup> comeatat na tiri, . . . . .	20
<sup>37</sup> ée, . . . . .	10	<sup>53</sup> ullto, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>38</sup> fuilbuo, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>54</sup> so raín oímeir doíra, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>39</sup> apóplaéa, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>55</sup> mió.ó, . . . . .	22
<sup>40</sup> cebea, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>56</sup> coicío, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>41</sup> Marge Cuillenn, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>57</sup> imílam, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>42</sup> eic, . . . . .	12	<sup>58</sup> oairórig, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>43</sup> ua loéam coilli, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>59</sup> eétraer, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>44</sup> celfa . . . . .	ib.	<sup>60</sup> line, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>45</sup> so muó, . . . . .	14	<sup>61</sup> eníall, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>46</sup> pepe . . . . .	ib.	<sup>62</sup> ullto, . . . . .	24
<sup>47</sup> laigin, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>63</sup> (bis) co ceano, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>48</sup> coiciger iar mír, . . . . .	16	<sup>64</sup> na fuigibcheap, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>49</sup> dia éiuóplaéaib, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>65</sup> leo ppi, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>50</sup> dia bunab nra, . . . . .	18	<sup>66</sup> gabar, . . . . .	ib.

NOTE.—The prose in B. only mentions *teora* (three) *geasa* of the king of Laighin, and as many of his *buadha*, omitting the first and second of the former and the fourth and fifth of the latter according to the order of enumeration in the poem. It omits the fourth of the *buadha* of the king of Connacht, which, indeed, seem to be six, both in the poem, and in the prose in L. So, the fourth of the *buadha* of the king of Uladh is not found in the prose in B. It calls the *buadha* of the monarch *ceithora* (four), though it mentions seven, and begins by saying that his *urghartha* are *se* (six), though it shows them also to be seven.

The order of enumeration in the prose varies much in both copies from that used in the poem; and the prose in B. differs in its order in many respects from the prose in L.

## VARIOUS READINGS

IN

LEATHAR NA 3-CEART.

## I.—Oligheath Righ Chairil.

PAGE.		PAGE.
1	caipil oibú. i. caipil [N. B. a paper copy of 1713 reads, an tan nó leir arobrig Éireann. Caipil oona. i. Caipéal]. . . . .	28
2	riobairde in tan rin, . . . . .	ib.
3	ba giligéir, . . . . .	ib.
4	fallnafar, . . . . .	30
5	in aporaeta, L. an Aro Aehap, B. [which is right], . . . . .	ib.
6	epirail [This is manifestly a mistake in B. for eap- real, which is the word in the paper copy of 1713], . . . . .	ib.
7	cio fuil ann don rin ir cellport, . . . . .	ib.
8	[do rig Muman an baile rin 7 bleagar cior 7 fog- nam b-peap Muman do rig Chairil do gneap, Paper copy of 1713], . . . . .	ib.
9	a ecece, . . . . .	ib.
10	a eoirgece, . . . . .	32
11	x. longa, . . . . .	ib.
12	ba mir, . . . . .	32
13	do, . . . . .	ib.
14	conao. ba fuideguo . . . . .	28
15	oun ri aunap delbar ou raimo, . . . . .	34
16	bluro, . . . . .	ib.
17	(bis) [biaetao mir o apo plait Oilig, do maieib Muman. Paper copy of 1713], . . . . .	36
18	uan maich, . . . . .	ib.
19	o, . . . . .	ib.
20	ni raitodo rait rem [ni rgiaetao a rait reiom, paper copy of 1713], . . . . .	38
21	du eigeapna, . . . . .	ib.
22	teagait, . . . . .	ib.
23	o maieib Tomap [a maieib Danap. Paper copy of 1713], . . . . .	40
24	am capnan, . . . . .	ib.
25	glinoi bath [glainne ga, paper copy of 1713], . . . . .	ib.
26	ua roileao [noan raileat, paper copy of 1713], . . . . .	ib.
27	Ae, . . . . .	ib.

	PAGE.
" molcaio, . . . . .	40
" gon olig, . . . . .	ib.
" ba, . . . . .	42
" nocon ap an daire epa icait na cipara acé ap ceano, . . . . .	42
" ri h-apm n-apdair, . . . .	44
" ( <i>bis</i> ) epab na loircio, (line 5, last four syllables), . . .	ib.
" ac bepió, . . . . .	ib.
" canaió, . . . . .	ib.
" ag caioó, . . . . .	46
" nup ri, . . . . .	ib.
" piam, . . . . .	ib.
" nup mapi, . . . . .	ib.
" ip, . . . . .	48
" gan anao, . . . . .	ib.
" ap, . . . . .	ib.
" iap lo laigim, . . . . .	ib.
" iap, . . . . .	ib.
" n-ac, . . . . .	ib.
" ppiac, . . . . .	ib.
" olectaire, . . . . .	ib.
" epain, . . . . .	ib.
" rin pime po eairig, . . . .	50
" failmceclada, . . . . .	ib.
" a Cairul, . . . . .	ib.
" naó bu ri for Epinn, . . .	ib.
" ip oet (oet) " do forbpla- mar, . . . . .	ib.
" oligó dan, . . . . .	ib.
" ceampairig piabe ba, . . .	52
" do muig ópeag canio, . . .	ib.
" do plait, . . . . .	ib.
" ( <i>bis</i> ) Eporcab Ruapan mac	

	PAGE.
Feapgura co naemaió, (lines 7, 8), . . . . .	52
" do, . . . . .	ib.
" mic (C)aplainn, [N. B.— The "C" is added to the original MS., and a like interpolation is observable in the text of the Book of Leacan in two places], . .	54
" b, . . . . .	ib.
" feapuno, . . . . .	ib.
" ( <i>bis</i> ) o éa Ait Cluac gu teach nduinn (line 10), . .	ib.
" aille, . . . . .	ib.
" eic, . . . . .	ib.
" oligeap, . . . . .	ib.
" no, . . . . .	ib.
" conbae ipbula laif a ppiu- eac, . . . . .	ib.
" bu pió gall iap pppain ap a xelguó na chip, . . . .	56
" iga eíó, . . . . .	ib.
" ip i in éain oligio, . . . .	ib.
" epí, . . . . .	ib.
" naó ppié fail, . . . . .	ib.
" beannactu mop, . . . . .	ib.
" ( <i>bis</i> ) gíó mop ino ail bepinu ain (line 16), . . . . .	ib.
" nulvim, [N. B. The next quatrain omitted in B.], . .	ib.
" ( <i>bis</i> ) ppiuacáup (line 4, <i>init.</i> ), .	ib.
" fuil, . . . . .	58
" an aintech, . . . . .	ib.
" fuil epí ri la, . . . . .	ib.
" cuillub, . . . . .	60

PAGE.		PAGE.
75	(bis), Dail Cár ní rabat alen, no gabab fú fúar fínen, oof rab gu hilewa hej tígearna acambiu éenen (lines 5, 6, 7, 8), . . . 60	79 ní oleugur, . . . . . 66
76	oo dobear amail fop fúgaib, . . . ib.	80 (bis), Soár maireac mop Cairil mebraig lat gach mór, ní mac flaire ap meann Múmain, neac naé coingní cip. C18. 68 [N. B. The following qua- train is not in B.]
77	turugub, . . . . . ib.	[N. B. Also the following prose and poem, from p. 68 to p. 80, are not in B.]
78	ccc. dam. l. lulgac a oair- fine, . . . . . ib.	100 7 coécupa a pocap, graó 7 oilmaine ap meo nipe 7 foplamuir ap oilmaine fecta 7 plo- gaio ap roirbe 7 ap for- briog 7 ap fuuripe ap comairleam, . . . . . 80
79	oo. dam oo. brat, . . . 62	101 moidigéir, . . . . . ib.
80	aip, . . . . . ib.	102 reancas, . . . . . ib.
81	feapanna foguab Cairéal, ib.	103 bró airmes, . . . . . ib.
82	no a Rairliunn, . . . . . ib.	104 ac Dail Cair, . . . . . ib.
83	conaire ac-beap éenen in. faie imo fip, . . . . . ib.	105 ap mair, . . . . . ib.
84	dia, . . . . . ib.	106 le gíó imóa o'airgeab, . . . ib.
85	gac bliadna gu brat, . . . ib.	107 malle, . . . . . ib.
86	(bis) ata buaireib (l. 15, fin.), ib.	108 du ní Dail Cair cuilbuidé, ib.
87	fuaicnig, . . . . . ib.	109 ip po fip, . . . . . ib.
88	fua, . . . . . 64	110 ní buil, . . . . . ib.
89	oi cor,	111 a tuaid, . . . . . ib.
90	cu caega ceao lulgac, . . . ib.	112 ap ap muirib, . . . . . ib.
91	cecluacete, . . . . . ib.	113 coip, . . . . . 82
92	por, . . . . . ib.	114 ra flog, . . . . . ib.
93	o onung, . . . . . ib.	115 iap coip, . . . . . ib.
94	crana, . . . . . ib.	116 ní cleri, . . . . . ib.
95	gan diamaire, . . . . . ib.	
96	bo o na bairdeacab, . . . ib.	
97	cran, . . . . . ib.	
98	(bis) cairip (line 3, fin.), . . 66	
99	gu, . . . . . ib.	
100	Ní olig oo, . . . . . ib.	
101	foguab, . . . . . ib.	

	PAGE.
117 eac cum blas, . . . . .	82
118 nac caip, . . . . .	ib.
119 calma, . . . . .	ib.
120 cam, . . . . .	ib.
120 (bis) muip, . . . . .	ib.
121 co fip gail (line 16, fin.), . . . . .	ib.
121 (bis) Rairéino (line 21), . . . . .	ib.
122 lanna, . . . . .	84
122 donna a ndaeta, . . . . .	ib.
124 du ghoig, . . . . .	ib.
125 ip coicall fíng móllebaig.	
[N. B.—The next quatrain is placed later by two in B.]	
126 comblabaic, . . . . .	ib.
127 Gabra, . . . . .	ib.
128 meóraig, . . . . .	ib.
128 cín pop faeli, . . . . .	ib.
129 m pi leat-gualainn, . . . . .	ib.
131 erpeao, . . . . .	ib.
132 do éaet, . . . . .	ib.
133 erpeo, . . . . .	ib.
134 bpoğa i piğ, . . . . .	ib.
134 x. finoğailł gan Ğairéaig, 86	
136 ar, . . . . .	ib.
137 de, . . . . .	ib.
138 na nuaité o pi Epenn, . . . . .	ib.
139 euaióle, . . . . .	ib.
140 peat peie peat cloiðim cam	
ip peat n-eic ana paðnaib, . . . . .	ib.
141 peat cloiðim peat pc. mola	
ip peat, . . . . .	ib.
142 pi Ele moip, . . . . .	ib.
142 peat pc. i peat cloiðim cam	
peat mogaið peat mban-	
moðaiğ, . . . . .	ib.

	PAGE.
144 Cuileanoan, . . . . .	86
144 bið fear leiginò e fpa la, . . . . .	ib.
146 Mulciar, . . . . .	ib.
146 (bis) Reta (same line), . . . . .	ib.
146 (ter) ap bile (line 28, in it.), . . . . .	ib.
147 Conaing, . . . . .	ib.
147 (bis) Murbolğ (line 1), . . . . .	88
148 n-Earpaine, . . . . .	ib.
148 ucmag oae cam, . . . . .	ib.
148 Tuaim n-Eoen Mag Arail, . . . . .	ib.
151 loiccinò, . . . . .	ib.
152 Tredua, . . . . .	ib.
153 Rairépc, . . . . .	ib.
154 Rairé apb, . . . . .	ib.
155 Delge, . . . . .	ib.
156 h-ui cuipb, . . . . .	ib.
157 ab ðap aepa, . . . . .	ib.
158 Domun, . . . . .	ib.
159 a peobu, . . . . .	ib.
160 oo, . . . . .	ib.
161 Muilciar, . . . . .	ib.
162 Ríca, . . . . .	ib.
163 ie ler gið, . . . . .	ib.
164 c. euaiğ, . . . . .	ib.
165 c. gleno, . . . . .	90
166 ap bili, . . . . .	ib.
167 m-beappain, . . . . .	ib.
168 ba comap cuan, . . . . .	ib.
168 conaing, . . . . .	ib.
170 cuip, . . . . .	ib.
171 pape, . . . . .	ib.
172 ap muip, . . . . .	ib.
173 aic, . . . . .	ib.
174 Mulbolğ gan, . . . . .	ib.
175 cuip, . . . . .	ib.

	PAGE.		PAGE.
<sup>176</sup> gnoai, . . . . .	92	<sup>182</sup> gno trega (last line), . . .	92
<sup>177</sup> Uéctmağ, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>183</sup> delge-ter (line 2, <i>fin.</i> ), . . .	94
<sup>178</sup> ceáain boirne buan oon ri, . .	ib.	<sup>184</sup> beannceairge gnegraide	
<sup>179</sup> neóin, . . . . .	ib.	orbraroe ḡ h ui cuirib	
<sup>180</sup> elta Rapano ir fip, . . . . .	ib.	apa fíḡ, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>181</sup> afeaba, . . . . .	ib.		

## II.—Oligheadh Rígh Cpuachann.

	PAGE.		PAGE.
<sup>1</sup> anirpo .i. mor cipa Connact		<sup>22</sup> buan i bpaḡ, . . . . .	102
eoir biaḡad, . . . . .	96	<sup>23</sup> atácur, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>2</sup> toric, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>24</sup> rirín riğ ḡorḡ, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>3</sup> xl., . . . . .	ib.	<sup>25</sup> a taḡairt la bealltaine, . . .	ib.
<sup>4</sup> ḡ ni har ḡairt inn rin aḡt		<sup>26</sup> gan anfir, . . . . .	ib.
ar fear fearunó, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>27</sup> iar lo alle, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>5</sup> uir. l. caerac, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>28</sup> fri friḡoum, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>6</sup> a cip, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>29</sup> cia do beapad, . . . . .	104
<sup>7</sup> ar loğ, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>30</sup> a cip, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>8</sup> ha bia, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>31</sup> noḡo nrao luigne, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>9</sup> do rin, . . . . .	98	<sup>32</sup> i fear, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>10</sup> na cip tall, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>33</sup> a taḡairt gach naen nuairi, . .	ib.
<sup>11</sup> gan oin ream dia noeağ-		<sup>34</sup> ou ri muiğe hai, . . . . .	ib.
euaḡaiḡ, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>35</sup> ir mor ġliaiḡ, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>12</sup> gach uen dia nolig dipli, . . .	ib.	<sup>36</sup> taḡear do ri olnegmeaḡt, . . .	ib.
<sup>13</sup> ni cel, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>37</sup> gan anforur, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>14</sup> aipri, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>38</sup> ir do ḡelbn. oleğair rin,	
<sup>15</sup> ao ġín, . . . . .	ib.	ou ri connact gu cpua-	
<sup>16</sup> ḡ u. xx. lulgach, . . . . .	ib.	chain, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>17</sup> o cinead ġriğraide ġlain		<sup>39</sup> ir do ḡealbnaib noḡo breg	
da toraḡta co cpuachain, . . .	100	oleğair in cain da cōimib, . .	106
<sup>18</sup> imirim, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>40</sup> munḡad in fearunó faen-	
<sup>19</sup> eri xx. torc tñno inail, . . .	ib.	geal, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>20</sup> do beapap, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>41</sup> minbaḡ tap ceanó a tpe, . . .	ib.
<sup>21</sup> gan duḡ, . . . . .	102	<sup>42</sup> lxx., . . . . .	106



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" cia vo beapap in aun éaerā o huib maine na maḡ paen, . . . . .	106
" gan cōmlanō, . . . . .	ib.
" na clann, . . . . .	ib.
" comlann, . . . . .	ib.
" hua bpiuin noōo bpeḡ am- blaō, . . . . .	ib.
" na caēt, . . . . .	108
" cain, . . . . .	ib.
" ploinnfēt, . . . . .	ib.
" imḡlec, . . . . .	ib.
" oligib, . . . . .	ib.
" oleḡair, . . . . .	ib.
" no i comḡaicēib, . . . . .	ib.
" munab, . . . . .	ib.
" 2 " In tan naē leo riḡi atuaiō, la pil aēda ipḡuaire ḡluair ipann leo gan cpaō cain leat-ḡualu lan pi cpa- chain . . . . .	110
Maic fo puair ōenen ḡū beaēt, an eolupa na neceapē, ploinnfeapēa dair tpe barō in ēil, a ōaine ana eiḡōig. . . . .	ib.
[N. B. The intervening rann is not in B.]	
" oo ēuapapēlaib, . . . . .	ib.
" on feapaino, . . . . .	110

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" ana, . . . . .	110
" ip ruibiu fo biē, conuō, . . . . .	ib.
" ou ḡubail, . . . . .	ib.
" naemu, . . . . .	ib.
" faic, . . . . .	ib.
" fogniac, . . . . .	ib.
" uii, . . . . .	112
" Tuapapēla coigib, . . . . .	ib.
" oia, . . . . .	ib.
" fpi, . . . . .	ib.
" iii, . . . . .	ib.
" . . . . . iii, mna iii, luipēca fpi a la, . . . . .	ib.
" fop a ling, . . . . .	114
" nimḡell, . . . . .	ib.
" epoeapḡa, . . . . .	ib.
" luaigni (corrected to lui ḡni), . . . . .	ib.
" caicim, . . . . .	ib.
" ḡapḡa ḡlair ḡeala, . . . . .	ib.
" na coḡ on cail. [N. B.— This figure <sup>78</sup> should be at the end of the first line of the next rann which precedes this in B.], . . . . .	ib.
" naē clae, . . . . .	ib.
" mblaōaig, . . . . .	ib.
" (biē) x. neic ḡ ōa fūlaig x. cl., . . . . .	ib.
" fpi, . . . . .	116
" muigē hai, . . . . .	ib.

## III. 1.—Oligheath Righ Ailigh.

	PAGE.		PAGE.
<sup>1</sup> 7 a euaparela i. a cip oib, . . .	118	<sup>27</sup> fa de rin in tan nac, . . .	126
<sup>1</sup> (bis) c. mapc c. topc l. bo, . . .	ib.	<sup>28</sup> rin ono, . . .	ib.
<sup>2</sup> oo., . . .	ib.	<sup>29</sup> rlegā, . . .	ib.
<sup>3</sup> in ruicī pe la ðenſn, . . .	ib.	<sup>30</sup> rl., . . .	ib.
<sup>4</sup> epica, . . .	120	<sup>31</sup> rl., . . .	128
<sup>5</sup> o euaið paēa, . . .	ib.	<sup>32</sup> cōmpainò, . . .	ib.
<sup>6</sup> xxx., . . .	ib.	<sup>33</sup> A rin dia nðechur pa euaið	
<sup>7</sup> blaēa, . . .	ib.	co, . . .	ib.
<sup>8</sup> in euiro, . . .	ib.	<sup>34</sup> ep., . . .	ib.
<sup>9</sup> na, . . .	ib.	<sup>35</sup> gualainò, . . .	ib.
<sup>10</sup> baiò, . . .	ib.	<sup>36</sup> èneach, . . .	ib.
<sup>11</sup> ni baiò nimniò, . . .	122	<sup>37</sup> epuaðarcar, . . .	ib.
<sup>12</sup> co mbain imlið, . . .	ib.	<sup>38</sup> in muiro, . . .	ib.
<sup>13</sup> rinr eailleir euaið, . . .	ib.	<sup>39</sup> ui. eoco, . . .	130
<sup>14</sup> o ÷ianaēc in epuað cōgaið, . . .	ib.	<sup>40</sup> pe, . . .	132
<sup>15</sup> eiðnaðcar, . . .	ib.	<sup>41</sup> ui. nec, . . .	ib.
<sup>16</sup> topc, . . .	124	<sup>42</sup> rc., . . .	ib.
<sup>17</sup> gan luirge, . . .	ib.	<sup>43</sup> aillī rinr harðib, . . .	ib.
<sup>18</sup> Ni oleðcar, . . .	ib.	<sup>44</sup> fñ, . . .	ib.
<sup>19</sup> gabar, . . .	ib.	<sup>45</sup> ep., . . .	ib.
<sup>20</sup> no, . . .	ib.	<sup>46</sup> diaoið rinr, . . .	ib.
<sup>21</sup> epom, . . .	ib.	<sup>47</sup> F., . . .	ib.
<sup>22</sup> nocho.rai nacha rairið, . . .	126	<sup>48</sup> comola, . . .	ib.
<sup>23</sup> riðe, . . .	ib.	<sup>49</sup> a euaið, . . .	134
<sup>24</sup> cuingēaba ceapc, . . .	ib.	<sup>50</sup> a liðar cu ler, . . .	ib.
<sup>25</sup> A rin iat ro foðla, . . .	ib.	<sup>51</sup> rin rcpribur, . . .	ib.
<sup>26</sup> ono, . . .	ib.		

III. 2.—Oligheath Righ Oirghiall.

	PAGE.		PAGE.
<sup>1</sup> caecur,	134	<sup>16</sup> ( <i>bi</i> ) buo eirrin (end of	
<sup>2</sup> no,	ib.	second line of the prose,	
<sup>3</sup> ēgao. [N. B.—The refe-		for foðerin),	142
rence <sup>3</sup> has been dropped		<sup>17</sup> ḡ a neioiub doib ḡ a mbeē	
from the text. The reader		fo puinib nōḡ,	144
will supply it to the last		<sup>18</sup> mafforluireo,	ib.
line of the page but one,		<sup>19</sup> du rī h. m-ðrain Arcaill,	ib.
where for na ceir in L.		<sup>20</sup> du rī leirinn,	ib.
we have mai ēgao in B.		<sup>21</sup> ui.,	ib.
The sentence following		<sup>22</sup> poir,	ib.
has been inserted at page		<sup>23</sup> conio da cōimīst na rocur	
136, in full, from both		rīn no fōḡ,	ib.
copies],	ib.	<sup>24</sup> flioiofio de,	146
<sup>4</sup> at feagan,	136	<sup>25</sup> rīnūr cloinne caeim Cair-	
<sup>5</sup> olegait,	138	ppe,	ib.
<sup>6</sup> ceacur,	ib.	<sup>26</sup> abrao,	ib.
<sup>7</sup> rium,	ib.	<sup>27</sup> allaim,	ib.
<sup>8</sup> ipeao no cula,		<sup>28</sup> gan cuibnōḡ,	ib.
načar čino fogman		<sup>29</sup> cogar,	ib.
fri bpuinne buana,	ib.	<sup>30</sup> geiban ḡlar,	ib.
<sup>9</sup> Se c. a docomluō.	ib.	<sup>31</sup> in,	ib.
<sup>10</sup> re c. doib aheappac,	ib.	<sup>32</sup> du,	ib.
<sup>11</sup> Mab liu liteappum,		<sup>33</sup> naeb,	148
a ngnimaib geimlig		<sup>34</sup> ui.,	ib.
nī olegar dib rium,	140	<sup>35</sup> corpēar caem,	ib.
<sup>12</sup> atpe ana Oirghiall,		<sup>36</sup> oligō uirri ua norēain,	150
ge,	ib.	<sup>37</sup> arcaill,	ib.
<sup>13</sup> oia neta,	ib.	<sup>38</sup> re heč buf triuin fri cog-	
<sup>14</sup> ir fir in fonōa,		puim	
la Colla Meann.ata,	ib.	re moḡaiō nač cael imčain	
<sup>15</sup> O teaclaio epainnaig,		re mna baera dia nōḡ-	
co forum nan team,	142	baill.	ib.
<sup>16</sup> nī haimmer,	ib.	<sup>39</sup> tri tuaē arer,	ib.

	PAGE.		PAGE.
" rua epimeth., . . . .	152	" u. ct. cama	152
" oligio, . . . . .	ib.	in marg. { u. pino mna	
" a, . . . . .	ib.	u. fib.	
" oip pc., . . . . .	ib.	" u., . . . . .	154
" lop, . . . . .	ib.	" oip, . . . . .	ib.
" am, . . . . .	ib.	" poip, . . . . .	ib.
" caeta, . . . . .	ib.	" cu mop daetuir, . . . .	ib.
" u. longa u. luip.		" oia, . . . . .	ib.

## III. 3.—Oligheabh Rìgh Ulao.

	PAGE.		PAGE.
" nae ri e p. ep. a leaelam γ gupub ē bur toruē co- gair γ coimheacta ineaō b̄s̄r ā fail ri ep. γ in can murgēpac, . . . . .	154	" rici bp. ni beag ini, . . .	158
" u., . . . . .	156	" ep. mog. ep. mna x̄apa, .	160
" bu. ri aenobar. vi. c̄ein, .	ib.	" lan c̄eima, . . . . .	ib.
" bail buinne, . . . . .	ib.	" lan m̄s̄ra, . . . . .	ib.
" conall. aip̄ḡe, . . . . .	ib.	" ri o neap̄ou c̄ein, . . . .	ib.
" bu ri buib̄epuin, . . . .	ib.	" re, . . . . .	ib.
" so ḡni, . . . . .	ib.	" re cuip̄n re cl̄aioim cogais	
" na hup̄gaile, . . . . .	ib.	re mogaiō ri mop obair, .	162
" a ceam̄paiḡ, . . . . .	158	" bail buinōi bain, . . . .	ib.
" na mbuain̄pleab, . . . .	ib.	" mēpa, . . . . .	ib.
" Caega cl. l. eac̄ nōonō l. bp. l. cōcoll l. p̄cing nōumeac̄ noaeta, l. luip. lan caeta, . . . .	ib.	" caiēmez, . . . . .	ib.
" x. longa f̄ri lan t̄ieapa, .	ib.	" ni plaib, . . . . .	ib.
" na f̄iao b̄p̄eā, . . . . .	ib.	" cona p̄rianaib̄ r̄s̄n aip̄ḡe,	ib.
" nuabuair, . . . . .	ib.	" r̄s̄n, . . . . .	164
		" na p̄caiēann pluaiḡ, . . .	ib.
		" ce mbennaib, . . . . .	ib.
		" lan cennaiḡ, . . . . .	ib.
		" gan mop pach, . . . . .	ib.
		" ōc̄e mna ōc̄e neic̄ dōnna, .	ib.
		" baip̄ce mbile, . . . . .	ib.
		" ep̄i, . . . . .	ib.

	PAGE.		PAGE.
" céana, . . . . .	164	" 7 uamhnaí gac dáta, . . .	168
" aen geala, . . . . .	ib.	" Oligeadó aiphoi emna ip	
" caba caim, . . . . .	ib.	ul, . . . . .	ib.
" ocaip, . . . . .	ib.	" i muiḡ, . . . . .	170
" oia, . . . . .	166	" gan bine, . . . . .	ib.
" am, . . . . .	ib.	" fíoino óu éac, . . . . .	ib.
" bairée, . . . . .	168	" po, . . . . .	ib.
" riála, . . . . .	ib.	" eopc ata ula, . . . . .	ib.
" i. ipparé, . . . . .	ib.	" bli. o éipcepiḡe, . . . . .	ib.
" aline, . . . . .	ib.	" doḡpaió, . . . . .	172
" epí, . . . . .	ib.	" a na, . . . . .	ib.
" a laéapnaib, . . . . .	ib.	" cia, . . . . .	ib.
" a epcepiḡe, . . . . .	ib.	" moncaib, . . . . .	ib.
" ap in bpiḡaiḡ, . . . . .	ib.	" ab, . . . . .	ib.
" o moncaib, . . . . .	ib.	" ccc., . . . . .	ib.
" ge motab, . . . . .	ib.	" na coipéaip, . . . . .	ib.
" leopibe, . . . . .	ib.	" co nuí bpiḡ ḡop an piḡ, . . .	ib.
" eurgnam, . . . . .	ib.	" ana, . . . . .	174

#### IV.—Oligeadh Rígh Teamhrach.

	PAGE.		PAGE.
" ou piḡ tuac míoí, . . . . .	176	" a, . . . . .	178
" ou pi laigri, . . . . .	ib.	" B. has here both the readings	
" ou pi fear céall, . . . . .	ib.	inserted in the text, and	
" ou pi fear teabéa, . . . . .	ib.	also éé repeated, between	
" caill follamain, . . . . .	ib.	them. It is plain that the	
" ou pi belbna, . . . . .	ib.	last three words in B. are	
" conuo be pin, . . . . .	ib.	alone the true text, . . . . .	ib.
" a teampaiḡ, . . . . .	178	" laegaine, . . . . .	ib.
" por lan mebpaiḡ, . . . . .	ib.	" Tpiñ pi, . . . . .	ib.
" teampac, . . . . .	ib.	" Caille Eacóach, . . . . .	ib.
" lann, . . . . .	ib.	" ḡaill, . . . . .	180

	PAGE.		PAGE.
<sup>18</sup> ceabéa, . . . . .	180	xxx. cpaín nī cīr bpaṭar,	
<sup>19</sup> debéa, . . . . .	ib.	xxx. molet maíe a naipim,	
<sup>20</sup> díá [N. B. the two quatrains following not in B.], . . . .	ib.	do pí mīóí mop fáilíó. . .	184
<sup>21</sup> caille an olláim, . . . .	182	<sup>39</sup> a moip pīne, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>22</sup> Ac foim tuar, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>40</sup> teámar, . . . . .	186
<sup>23</sup> ʔ, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>41</sup> farḡḡa, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>24</sup> ac dīp fīl, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>42</sup> o bpaíeṛíḡ na boṛb luíḡne, .	ib.
<sup>25</sup> ír an olíḡ, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>43</sup> C. paṛbpaṭ o na paídníḡ,	
<sup>26</sup> Tuapaṛela píḡ tuat mīóí po paíḡream, . . . . .	ib.	c. cpaṇa ír cṛóḡ fīp éaicíó	
<sup>27</sup> óna, . . . . .	184	ʔ c. maṛe ap. muíḡib,	
<sup>28</sup> éḡaíḡ, . . . . .	ib.	la c. molet díá mo, íraíḡíó, .	188
<sup>29</sup> pīne, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>44</sup> C. a cuipenib, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>30</sup> nuna, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>45</sup> loma oupí luíouṛ líat oṛo-	
<sup>31</sup> tobaíḡ na canapa, . . . .	ib.	ma, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>32</sup> íar mbuaín, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>46</sup> paílleaṇó, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>33</sup> po paíó, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>47</sup> ou élaen paíe po éuala-	
<sup>34</sup> mīóe, . . . . .	ib.	baip, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>35</sup> maṛ foḡnaé do teamṛaíḡ taip, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>48</sup> o, . . . . .	ib.
<sup>36</sup> po realḡéa, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>49</sup> noḡor ouḡ óaepaíó, . . . .	ib.
<sup>37</sup> o óam deipí, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>50</sup> xxx. deaḡ óam ír óaípe, . .	
<sup>38</sup> olíḡíó pí teamṛaé na tuat,		xxx. luíḡaé lan buíóe. . . .	ib.
		<sup>51</sup> lx. maṛe ouṇ mop eulaíḡ, .	190
		<sup>52</sup> rteamṛaíḡ (last line but one), .	ib.
		<sup>53</sup> a haipó cīr (last line), . . .	ib.

### V.—Oligheadh Rígh Laighean, agus Tíomna Chathaeir Mhóir.

	PAGE.		PAGE.
<sup>1</sup> íga, . . . . .	192	maíreé mo mac mingor . . .	192
<sup>2</sup> in raínṛeṛce, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>5</sup> fīpí teamṛaṛ (last line but one), . . . . .	ib.
<sup>3</sup> Aír, . . . . .	ib.	<sup>6</sup> lu mbuaín macaíb, . . . . .	194
<sup>4</sup> caín in mīnd mop aicníó			

	PAGE.
7 γορβαο buionι beanάτα,	194
8 ουβαιρε,	ib.
9 ιρ ιαρ,	ib.
10 ουαιρε m-barραc,	ib.
11 co η θανανυρ,	ib.
12 ρυιδ αιρεναc,	ib.
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† See note at the end.

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<sup>114</sup> na neḡ,	ib.	<sup>149</sup> (These lines are transposed in B).	
<sup>115</sup> rin̄,	ib.	<sup>150</sup> in̄ aen̄ lo,	ib.
<sup>116</sup> buaḡa,	ib.	<sup>151</sup> a luip̄eac̄ ra ḡa.	ib.
<sup>117</sup> caē ḡ'f̄uap̄ra ap̄ na ep̄en tip̄,	ib.	<sup>152</sup> ḡa eac̄ maip̄e iii ḡp̄oḡbeḡḡ,	ib.
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<sup>124</sup> oul ḡaḡa m̄ip̄ co t̄f̄m̄ap̄ḡ,	ib.		

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160	ιαρ, . . . . .	ib.	175	βα, . . . . .	ib.
161	επὶ χχ. βο, . . . . .	260	176	ζα, . . . . .	ib.
	[The following rann not		177	Ϟρυαάνα ἰν ἐνιὸ, . . .	ib.
	in B.]		178	ρι, . . . . .	ib.
162	οιρ, . . . . .	ib.	179	Ϟρυαάυ, . . . . .	264
163	ραινε, . . . . .	ib.	180	αρ, . . . . .	ib.
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165	βα c. . . . .	ib.		ζυ ζνατ ραιν	
166	μορ αν βλιγὸ ρι, . . . .	ib.		νι ζεβα ζυ βραε, . . .	ib.
167	ρo, . . . . .	262	182	ἰν mal, . . . . .	ib.
168	ζυρὺβ ἰ α βεαν ρε ζαά		183	ἰν. ρεεε βαέα ἰρ βεγοαλ,	ib.
	ϣλεῖζ		184	δο ἰρ, . . . . .	ib.
	ἰ α ρεαρ ἰ τεμπαῖζ, . . .	ib.	185	ζυ επεν υε, . . . . .	ib.
169	αμαρ, . . . . .	ib.	186	com ραζαῖβ, . . . . .	ib.
170	comπαε		187	o ϣλαε Ϟρυαάνα cηῖζῖ, .	ib.
	ρoζα νοελβα επ ρε ζαῖλ			[N.B.—The nine ranns fol-	
	ἰ α ρυμ, . . . . .	ib.		lowing, to the end, are not	
171	Ϟρυαάνα νι δελ, . . . .	ib.		in B.; that copy finishes	
172	να, . . . . .	ib.		at the foot of fol. 154,	
173	υαεάβ, . . . . .	ib.		a. b., as follows:	

FINIT. AMEN. SOLAM O DROMA NOMINE SGRIÖSIO].

THE following remarks on the style of writing observed in the two MSS. (L. and B.) which have been now the subject of comparison, may interest the critical Irish reader. They are offered in addition to what has been said at the close of the Introduction.

1st. As regards *aspiration*. The dot, as a mark of aspiration, is seldom used in those MSS., and even more sparingly in L. than in B., though the latter is rather the more ancient MS. The letter h, to denote aspiration, is frequently used, but its use is strictly confined to three cases, viz., ch, eh, and ph. This last is rather of rare occurrence, for the letter p itself is infrequent in the Irish language, and its aspirate of course still more so. The aspirates bh, dh, fh, gh, mh, rh, do not occur once in either MS.

The cause of this plainly was, that the school of writing in which the scribes were trained was a Latin school, in which *ch*, *ph*, and *th* (following the Greek aspirates  $\chi$ ,  $\phi$ ,  $\theta$ ), alone were used; the other aspirates, *bh*, *dh*, &c., were unknown to the Greeks and Romans, and were therefore considered inadmissible by the Latin scribes.

For the same reason, in forming Latin names, Teamhair became Temoria; Laighin, Lagenia; Uladh, Ulidia; Mumha, Momonia; Breagh became Bregia; Laeghaire, Loegarius; Ruadhan, Rodanus, &c. &c. But Ard Macha preserved its form, the aspirate being already known in the Latin tongue; and Muireadhach became Muredachus, in which the aspirate *dh* was commuted to *d*, while *ch* was preserved.

That the habits of the Irish scribes were Latinized will further appear from an inspection of some of the contractions in common use: for instance,  $\gamma$  for *acur*,  $\bar{\gamma}$  for *acc*,  $\bar{\iota}$  for *nó*. These are obviously Latin, viz.,  $\gamma$  *et*,  $\bar{\gamma}$  *sed*,  $\bar{\iota}$  *vel*, corresponding in meaning with the three Irish particles just mentioned; and in the MSS. these Latin contractions are introduced into the body of Irish words, to express, at one time, the letters of the Irish particles, and at another the letters of the corresponding Latin particles. Thus,  $\gamma\iota\bar{\gamma}$  stands not for *acur*  $\gamma\iota$ , but *et*  $\gamma\iota$ , i. e.  $\gamma\iota$   $\gamma\iota$ , between; so  $\text{con}\bar{\gamma}$  stands for *Conna*  $\bar{\gamma}$ , and *catine* for *canoine*. So  $\bar{u}$  is used for the Irish *umoppo*, corresponding with the Latin *vero*, which it represents.

The omission of the dot in writing, or of *h* in a Latin name, can seldom be taken against other evidence as proof that aspiration was not used. The constant use of *ch* and *th* in these MSS., and the occasional use of the dot, determine the usage of the language at the time; and it will be found that the habit and rules of the language, as regards aspiration in speaking, have varied in little or nothing from the fourteenth century to the present time.

In editing *Leabhar na g-Ceart*, the omitted dot has been generally supplied, but not over initial capital letters, for the use of the dot over capitals is inconvenient in printing; but where, in the case of a capital letter, aspiration is connected with the construction of the language, as when used between one part of speech and another, to mark their mutual dependence, an *h* has been inserted, but always in a parenthesis (*h*), as it was determined to print the text without the addition of a letter; as in  $\acute{o}$   $M(h)\gamma\iota\bar{\gamma}\alpha\bar{\gamma}\bar{\gamma}$ ,  $\alpha\bar{\gamma}$   $S(h)\alpha\bar{\gamma}\alpha\bar{\gamma}$ ,  $\bar{u}\bar{o}\bar{m}$

Ð(h)aípe, a Ð(h)aípe. In similar situations, after C and T the text already possessed the h, as ó Chíapraíð, íap Theíap íp Líamain. But when there was no such government the parenthetical (h) has not been inserted, as Deap Gabáir for Deas Ghabhair. The dot found in the MSS. has in some cases been preserved over the initial capital, as ó Féapraíð Áípa, p. 186; oo ííl Fíachach, p. 204; oo píğ Fopchuath, p. 206.

Secondly, as regards *eclipsing*. We find that the proper eclipsis has, with almost perfect regularity, been inserted in three cases, viz., before b, v, and g, i. e. by mb, nv, and ng; or, as we have printed them, m-b, n-b, and n-g; also in the corresponding prefixing of n before vowels in similar situations, as n-a; thus, peact m-bpuit, oet n-bam, nae n-gabpa, veic n-eic.

In the cases, however, of words of eclipsing power occurring before the consonants c, f, p, t, eclipsis is never used in these MSS.

Now this occurs, not because the eclipsing sound was not adopted in these cases, just as much as in those we had just noticed, but from quite a different cause. It will at once be seen that the consonants c, f, p, t, are those in which, in the succeeding century, the act of eclipsing was designated by a simple reduplication of the consonant, viz., by cc, ff, pp, tt; and there is no more doubt that the single letters in our text, in the eclipsed situations, were sounded exactly as they are now pronounced, than that those redoubled letters were so expressed: and thus, peact clauim, ocht failgi, in the fourteenth century; peact cclauim, oet ffailgi, in the sixteenth century; and peact g-clauim, oet b-failge, in the eighteenth century, are the same.

The parenthesis has also been used to exhibit this eclipsis to the reader, and the text appears thus: peact (g)-clauim, oet (b)-failgi.

Thirdly, as regards the *accent*, or mark of long quantity. The adoption of this improvement, which enables the reader at once to enjoy his text by being informed how the best scholars of the age consider that it ought to be expressed, stood free of all difficulty. Not a single accent is discoverable in the entire text, either in B. or L., and therefore no disadvantage could here arise from the adoption of the accent.

Fourthly, as regards the use of the *vowels* and *consonants* in these Manuscripts.

The diphthong ao, or triphthong aoi, never once occurs in the

entire work; æ is the form generally used, occasionally œ; therefore, *Loægumpe*, and sometimes *Loeægumpe*, never *Looægumpe*. The æ is used as a broad diphthong, though ending in a slender vowel, and no confusion results from the use of it. Instead of *aoi*, *æi* occurs several times; very often *ai* in which the *i* is long, and it is accented *ai* in this edition, as in *Cathasr*, *baspe*, *raspe*.

The diphthong *eu* never once occurs. It was subsequently invented as a substitute for *éa*, and very uselessly, as the use of the accent was preferable to a change in orthography.

The modern diphthongs *io* and *eo* never once occur. The simple vowel *i* is used, and the reader is supposed to understand that it ends broad. Thus we have *ríl*, not *ríol*; *Crírt*, not *Críórt*; *rír*, *cír*, *círuið*, *epicha*, not *ríor*, *cíor*, *éíoruið*, *epiocha*, &c., in such words there was little or no occasion ever to have introduced the "o." In words whose terminations take the slender inflexion, it might, indeed, be said that the distinction afforded between *io* (broad) and *i* (slender) is an advantage, as if the Nom. be made *Cairíol*, and Gen. *Cairíl*; or Gen. *Eipíonn* and Dat. *Eipínn*. But in such cases a much better rule would have been to have adhered steadily to the Gen. *Eipeann* and Nom. *Cairéal*, and to have reserved the *Eipínn* and *Cairíl* for the slender terminations. The form *Eipeann* (*Eipeano*, *Epeano*) occurs oftenest, but it must be admitted that *Eipínn*, *Epiðb*, &c., in the Gen. also are often found here.

The simple *e* for the diphthong *ea*, terminating broad, occurs very often; but on the whole it appears, that at the date of these MSS., the use of *ea* was decidedly prevalent, and a great advantage was gained thereby, for whether the *ea* (unaccented) *éa* (*e* accented) or *eá* (*a* accented) be intended, the *a* always governs or influences the sound.

In the same way the simple *e* is often used where *ei* is used at other times, as *Eie* for *Eile*, *Epe* for *Eipe*, *ec* for *eið*, *dech* for *veich*, *rcéth* for *rcéich*.

A final *i* occurs frequently for a final *e*, as *Murcraib* for *Murcraide*.

There are various words in which irregular vowels are found, as *cuapircla* for *cuaparcla*; so *gu* (B.) for *go*.

With respect to consonants there is a very general use of the primary (spirate) mute (*c*) for the medial (vocal) letter (*g*) of the same

organ; as *acur* (in L.) for *agur* (which occurs in B.); *co* for *go*, *céar* for *céab*, *cóic* for *cúig*, *cach* for *gach*, *ic* for *ag*, *taib* for *taibg*, and *cannpe* for *cannpe*.

There is a good deal of looseness in the use of *g* (i. e. *g*) for *o* (i. e. *o*), and *vice versa*, especially in the ends of words and between vowels, as *Teannpaib* for *Teampairg*, *loige* for *luide*, &c.

The use of the *nn* is frequent, but the *no* in place of it is still more so. There is a circumstance observable in these MSS., proving, as is generally known, that the *o* in the *no* was not pronounced, viz., that in a great many instances the *o* is dotted, thus, *nó*, as may be seen above at pp. 279, 280, &c.

W. E. H.

#### CORRIGENDA.

THE words *leabur na c-Ceapt* in p. 28, l. 1, should have been printed *na (g)-Ceapt*. The MS. B. does not contain the second c.

The whole passage in B., referred to by Nos. 147, 148, to p. 280 (see Various Readings, p. 287), runs as follows:

*Fachaim fop an Aí uile,—b. m-ban fop a ban-éuire,—  
b. ap [a] gallaib glana,—b. n-aile ap a ingeana,—*

*ó. maíma ap macaib a m-ban,—b. cogao ip b. compam,—  
b. dia balcaib gonna,—im luab conn ip comola.*

It appears by the fourth and seventh lines that the possessive pronoun here intended is the masculine singular; although there is a change to the plural in the fifth line, just as the plural runs through the text in L. Consequently *Aí*, the Ford, is referred to, and the division of letters into words in the first line of the text in B. is correct, and the translation should run as follows:

I leave upon the whole Ford,—  
Gift of being good wives upon ITS female bands,  
Gift, &c.

Some omissions to insert the necessary marks of aspiration, eclipsis, and long quantity, in the Irish text, have taken place, particularly in pp. 28, 30, 32, which went to press before the rules to be observed were settled so fully as subsequently they were; and even in the succeeding pages an attentive observer will detect, occasionally, omissions of the proper marks, which it is hoped the indulgent reader will excuse; for it is indeed difficult altogether to avoid error in such matters, although there can be no doubt that, with aid so eminent as has been enlisted in the present publication,—Mr. Curry transcribing the MS. for the printer,—and Mr. O'Donovan superintending its progress through the press,—the highest perfection of accurate editing of the Irish text is attainable. But the rules to be ultimately adopted should be thoroughly understood beforehand. In the present case the whole MS. was transcribed in the same manner as that from which the text of the *Seapa*, &c. (pp. 2-24) was printed; and many of the typographic niceties afterwards adopted, were only gradually developed and systematized in the progress of the work through the printer's hands.



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